

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

of the Protestant Episcopal Church

DECEMBER, 1946

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VOL. XV

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No. 4

IN MEMORIAM

ALEXANDER B. ANDREWS

February 2, 1873 - - October 21, 1946

The Editor-in-Chief and the Associate Editors announce with deep regret the death of Mr. Alexander B. Andrews of Raleigh, North Carolina. Mr. Andrews was, until recently, a member of the Joint Committee on the Magazine. He took a deep interest in its welfare and from time to time made valuable suggestions and contributions. For many years he had made a special study of Church statistics and was regarded as an outstanding authority in that field. May he rest in peace.

THE SOCIAL IMPACT OF THE EVANGELICAL REVIVAL
A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE SOCIAL INFLUENCES OF THE
TEACHING OF JOHN WESLEY AND
HIS FOLLOWERS

By F. A. J. Harding*

B. Sc. Econ., F. Ph. S. Eng., A. R. Hist. S.

AUTHOR'S NOTE

This is an account of how one man's changed thinking and changed heart led directly to the creation of a mass of social doctrine which has had a permanent influence for good on the life of the world. It is sought to show that Wesley, having got away from the academic approach to religion, discovered the great social implications of Christianity. He preached a gospel which not only changed men's lives, but their social and economic circumstances too.

In the notes, where the words *Works*, *Letters* and *Journal* occur, it is to be understood that they refer to the writings of John Wesley.

F. A. J. H.

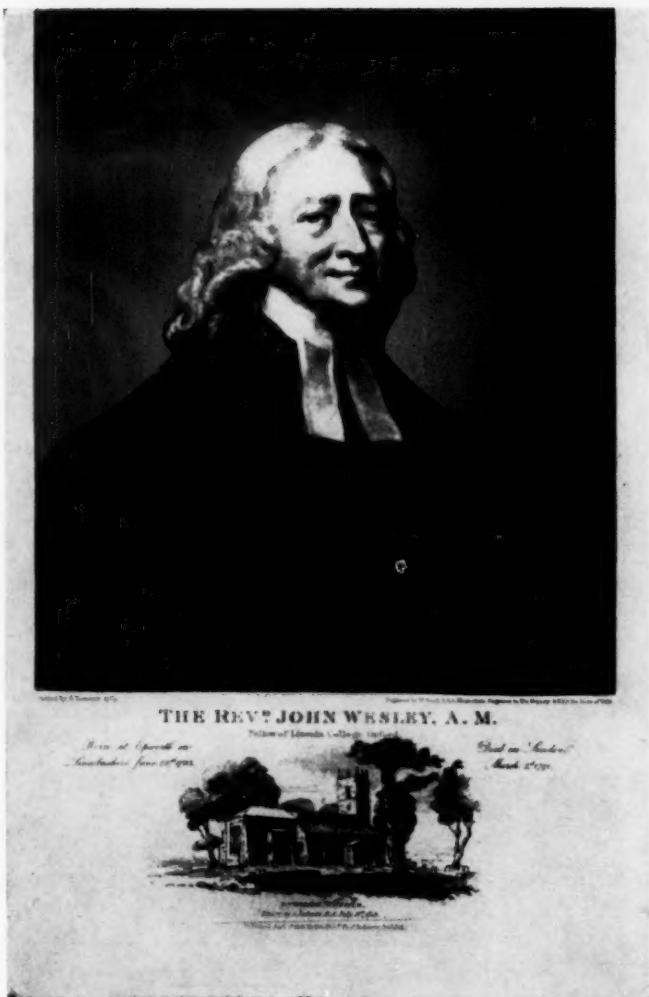
*St. Albans,
England.*

I. THE MEN OF OXFORD

In the early thirties of the eighteenth century, a group of young men, dons, undergraduates and others, were in the habit of meeting frequently in a room in Lincoln College, Oxford. They met for prayer and for the reading of the Bible. This practice soon attracted the attention of other members of the University who promptly dubbed them "The Holy Club." Other, less polite, names were thrust upon them, notably, the Godly Club, the Bible Moths, Bible Bigots, Sacramentarians and Methodists. It was the last name that stuck and showed that not for the first time in history a name flung in derision could become famous and honourable.¹

*The author is a graduate of the University of London, is a Fellow of the Philosophical Society of England, and an Associate of the Royal Historical Society for published work.—*Editor's Note.*

¹It will be recalled that the disciples were first called Christians at Antioch. Acts II., 26.



**THE REVEREND JOHN WESLEY
JUNE 28, 1703—MARCH 2, 1791**

**ORDAINED DEACON, SEPTEMBER 25, 1725;
PRIEST, SEPTEMBER 22, 1728**

S. P. G. MISSIONARY IN GEORGIA, 1735-1737

FOUNDED THE METHODIST SOCIETY, MAY 1, 1738

From the portrait by George Romney, 1789. Shown above is the Epworth Church, of which John's father, Samuel (1696-1756), was the Rector (1696-1756).

Membership of the club was exclusive. Not that its members were anxious to exclude anyone, but that the discipline of life that the members voluntarily assumed was so strict that only the hardiest could stay the course. At one time the number of adherents was twenty-seven, but this figure declined later to seven.²

The Holy Club owed much of its enthusiasm and drive to John Wesley, who with his brother Charles and, later, George Whitefield, became the instigators of the Evangelical Revival of the eighteenth century. The friendship which the Wesley brothers formed with George Whitefield at this juncture lasted a lifetime, and, in spite of differences on doctrinal matters which threatened at times to sever the relationship, the bond of affection was never broken. Nearly forty years later John Wesley was able to write in his *Journal* under the date of November 10th, 1770, "I returned to London, and had the melancholy news of Mr. Whitefield's death confirmed by his executors, who desired me to preach his funeral sermon on Sunday, the 18th."³

On January 2nd of the following year he writes again, "I preached in the evening, at Deptford, a kind of funeral sermon for Mr. Whitefield. In every place I wish to show all possible respect to the memory of that great and good man."⁴

The influence exerted by these young men was more than that of an ordinary club, even a religious club; especially in an age of materialism and ungodliness when it was considered bad taste to display any kind of enthusiasm whatsoever, even in the most secular of activities. In due time it became evident that the meeting together of this group of young men was the beginning of the release of forces of a singular kind—forces which were destined to spread far beyond the borders of the ancient foundation of Oxford, forces which were to change England and England's thinking, and which were to be felt eventually in all corners of the earth.

Marshall Claxton⁵ in his picture, "The Holy Club in Session," has depicted the giants of the Evangelical Revival. In the picture, John Wesley stands at the head of the table expounding the Scriptures, while surrounding him are seen such figures as Charles Wesley, poet of the revival; George Whitefield; James Hervey, author of *Meditations*; William Morgan, the prison visitor; Benjamin Ingham, founder of the Inghamite sect; John Clayton; and Thomas Broughton.

²Belden, A. D., *George Whitefield—the Awakener*, p. 18.

³*Journal*: Bi-Cent. Edit., Vol. V, p. 396.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 399.

⁵Marshall Claxton (1811-1881) was the son of a Methodist preacher and was well steeped in Methodist tradition. His most famous painting is the death-bed scene of John Wesley.

In later days, other men who were not at Oxford with the Wesleys were attracted to the company. Notable among the later additions to the ranks of the revivalists were two Anglican clergymen, William Grimshaw and John Fletcher, and Francis Asbury, who spent most of his later life in America. These three men proved to be a great acquisition to the ranks of the preachers. William Grimshaw, following Wesley's example, went into the open-air preaching, exhorting and admonishing. He was accused by the townfolk of Colne of preaching "damnation beyond all sense and reason" and altogether proved himself to be a man of great energy and conviction.⁶ John Fletcher became the beloved friend and intimate of John Wesley; he was perhaps the Melancthon of Methodism. Preaching at Norwich on October 24th, 1785, Wesley said:

"Many exemplary men have I known, holy in heart and life, without four-score years, but one equal to him I have not known—one so inwardly and outwardly devoted to God. So unblamable a character in every respect I have not found either in Europe or America; and I scarce expect to find another such on this side of eternity."⁷

Francis Asbury became the untiring and indefatigable evangelist of North America. "He went [to America] saturated with Wesley's thoughts. . . . For nearly fifty years he was the outrider of an ever-growing army of apostolic men who knew neither self nor fear, who conquered a continent and covered it with a network of circuits and conferences."⁸

It has already been pointed out that the severe discipline of the Holy Club reduced its membership. It was also a refining influence. Those who remained were tried in the fire. In addition to the self-imposed regimentation, they suffered at the hands of their fellows. In the case of John and Charles it amounted only to sneers and hard words, but in the case of Whitefield, it went harder. Being a servitor of the University, he was in a less dignified position than the Wesleys and hence could suffer more. "Some withdrew their pay from him, others were actively brutal to him, pelting him with dirt, friends fell away from him, masters and tutors rebuked him."⁹ In this austere setting and to the accompaniment of almost universal contumely, these three men and their handful of companions, set the standard for the

⁶Tyerman, L.: *Life and Times of Wesley*, Vol. I, p. 536.

⁷Sermon CXXXIII. Preached on the death of Fletcher. *Works*, V. Edit., Vol. VII, p. 449.

⁸*Journal*, Bi-Cent. Edit., Vol. VI, p. 2, editor's note.

⁹Belden, A. D., *op. cit.*, p. 20.

good life in a material and superficial age. They themselves could not have been conscious in those early days of the shape of things to come. They could not have foreseen that John Wesley's equestrian figure was to become a familiar sight in many a British and American countryside; that the hymns of Charles Wesley would become known far and wide and that the thunderous periods of Whitefield's sermons were to fill the highest and lowest places in the land, bringing tears to the eyes of the duchess of Huntingdon, blushes of anger and shame to the cheeks of the duchess of Buckingham and repentance to the hearts of the thousands who gathered to hear him preach in Moorfields, London, sometimes at five of the clock on a winter's morning.

Thus came together from many corners of Britain, in the early days of the eighteenth century, those enthusiasts who were to cause a revolution, not from above or below, but from within.

II. GEORGIA

"No man lived nearer the centre [of English life] than John Wesley, neither Clive nor Pitt, neither Mansfield nor Johnson. You cannot cut him out of our national life. No single figure influenced so many minds, no single voice touched so many hearts, no other man did such a life's work for England."—AUGUSTINE BIRRELL.

The days of the Holy Club were drawing to a close. John Wesley, Charles Wesley, Benjamin Ingham and Charles Delamotte remained in close fellowship after many of the other members had left Oxford. It was about this time—the autumn of 1735, that events occurred which changed the whole of Wesley's life. For some time Wesley had been under the notice of the Rev. Dr. John Burton, of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Dr. Burton was an intimate friend of Wesley, a member of the Georgia Trust, and a staunch supporter of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. He much desired that Wesley should go to Georgia as S. P. G. missionary, and accordingly wrote to him on September 8th, 1735, urging him to offer his services to the Society.¹⁰

In a long reply, Wesley accepted the invitation in "the hope of saving my own soul," as he puts it, and in order to learn the true sense of the gospel of Christ by preaching it to the heathen.¹¹

He was eagerly joined by Ingham, Delamotte, and his brother

¹⁰For an interesting account of the founding of Georgia, the work of Dr. Bray and early missionary endeavour in the colony, see Strickland, R. C.: *Religion and the State in Georgia in the Eighteenth Century*, and an article by J. W. Lydekker in Vol. XII (1943), pp. 186-224, of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

¹¹*The Letters of John Wesley*, Standard Edition, Vol. I, p. 188.

Charles, and on October 14th, 1735, "about nine in the morning" they "took boat for Gravesend, in order to embark for Georgia."¹²

Once on board the four friends drew up a program as strict as the one they followed in the days of the Holy Club. Everything they attempted was intended to train and shape them for the work ahead. Each day was divided up and not a moment was left unaccounted for. The time was spent in prayer, Bible reading, study and preaching to the other passengers, while a period was left at the end of each day in which the four friends might meet to exhort and instruct each other.¹³

So close indeed was the bond between them that at one stage in their journey they drew up and signed a kind of pact in which the following words appeared: "We,, do agree, by the help of God:—first, that none of us will undertake anything of importance without first proposing it to the other three; secondly, that whenever our judgments differ, any one shall give up his single judgment or inclination to the others; thirdly, that in the case of an equality, after begging God's direction, the matter shall be decided by lot."¹⁴

In addition to the methodically arranged program of the voyage, Wesley himself devoted three hours each day to the study of German. In this way he prepared himself for preaching the gospel to the Moravian emigrants on board, and secured that knowledge of the language which enabled him to translate into English no less than thirty-three of the best known hymns in the Herrnhut *Gesangbuch*, which probably came into his possession for the first time on the voyage to Georgia. It is interesting to note that one of these hymns,

"What shall we offer our good Lord,"¹⁵

was translated from a hymn by August Gottlieb Spangenberg, Count Zinzendorf's collaborator.

Spangenberg was one of the first Europeans to greet Wesley on his arrival in Georgia and during his stay there, the two divines became greatly attached to one another.¹⁶

The conversation between the two men at their meeting, given by Tyerman, illustrates more than anything else how that, with all John

¹²*Journal*, Bi-Cent. Edit., Vol. I, pp. 109 and 110.

¹³Tyerman, L., *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 120.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, p. 121, as quoted from Ingham's *Journal*.

¹⁵Methodist Hymn Book, No. 784. The original reads: *Der König ruht und schauet doch*. See H. Bett, *The Hymns of Methodism*, pp. 29 to 33.

¹⁶After Count Zinzendorf's death in 1760, Spangenberg became the leader of the Moravians (*die Brüdergemeine in Herrnhut*).

Wesley's close and diligent application to spiritual matters, the melody of his religious life was still in a minor key.

Wesley asked Spangenberg's advice upon certain matters, to which the latter replied: "My brother, I must first ask you one or two questions. Have you the witness within yourself? Does the Spirit of God bear witness with your spirit, that you are a child of God?" This method of approach perplexed Wesley, who was at a loss to reply. Spangenberg continued, "Do you know Jesus Christ?" "I know He is the Saviour of the world," rejoined Wesley. "But do you know He has saved *you*?" insisted Spangenberg. "I *hope* He has died to save me," responded Wesley.¹⁷ How different from the Wesley who but two years later wrote in his *Journal*: "I felt I did trust Christ, Christ alone for salvation; and an assurance was given me, that He had taken away *my* sins, even *mine*, and saved me from the law of sin and death."¹⁸

Wesley's life in Georgia was difficult and unhappy for him, but the vicissitudes through which he passed undoubtedly formed a background for the great change of heart which he experienced on May 24th, 1738. If his life in Georgia began in disappointment and continued with an increasing friction between himself and the colonists, he made fast friends with the Moravian community and with James Edward Oglethorpe, the governor. Through Spangenberg he got to know the Moravians in Oxford and London, notably Peter Böhrer and Count Zinzendorf, both of whom were to play a considerable part in his spiritual development. Who is to pass judgment on Wesley's life in Georgia? Was he too narrow? Was he too intolerant? Were the colonists too irreligious or too "raw" for his refined and consecrated intellectualism? Outwardly the Georgia adventure seemed a failure, but Wesley, in spite of an unhappy love affair and a legal entanglement which followed him back to England, steadily moved forward to the greatest experience of his life.

Others have acquitted him of failure, notably his friend, George Whitefield. Whitefield wrote: "The good Mr. John Wesley has done in America is inexpressible. His name is very precious among the people; and he has laid a foundation that I hope neither men nor devils will ever be able to shake. Oh, that I may follow him as he has followed Christ."¹⁹

Wesley himself seemed to think that on the whole the experiences of Georgia had been good for him. "Many reasons I have to bless God for my having been carried to America, contrary to all my pre-

¹⁷Tyerman, L., *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 125.

¹⁸*Journal*, Bi-Cent. Edit., Vol. I, p. 476.

¹⁹Whitefield's *Journal* (quoted by Tyerman, L., *op. cit.*, p. 170).

ceeding resolutions. Hereby, I trust, He hath in some measure 'humbled me and proved me, and shown me what was in my heart.'"²⁰

John Wesley landed in Georgia on Friday, February 6th, 1736, and quitted the shores of Carolina on Thursday, December 22nd, 1737.

III. INTO THE MAJOR

"I felt my heart strangely warmed."

—Wesley's *Journal*.

Wesley's return to England did not lead to an immediate change in his spiritual fortunes; his thinking was broadened, his experience deepened, but so far the vital spark had not been struck. He was not less busy in spiritual matters, for on the second day out from Charleston, on the return journey to Europe, he was "instructing a negro lad in the principles of Christianity" and resolving "to break off living delicately."²¹ For some reason or another, fear of the sea and the danger of storms seem to have depressed him unduly, while the Georgia interlude weighed upon him with a sense of failure. His American legal entanglement followed him to England and altogether he was feeling low in spirits when he arrived in port. Matters were soon to change for him, however.

The first step towards the great spiritual awakening occurred on Tuesday, February 7th, 1738,—“A day much to be remembered;” it was the day he first met Peter Böhler the Moravian who, with his friends, Schullius, Richter, and Wensel Neisser, had come to meet Wesley at the house in London of a Dutch merchant named Weinantz.²² Wesley's friendship with Böhler developed quickly. In both the *Journal* and *Diary* of those spring days of 1738 many references to Böhler occur, and it becomes increasingly obvious that the Moravian divine was gaining a spiritual ascendancy over Wesley. Wesley was diligently seeking the experience of a deep personal religion, but had hitherto failed to discover it. Böhler had had that experience and was endeavoring to help Wesley to do the same. On one occasion at least, Böhler produced witnesses from among the English Moravians to tell “one after another what had been wrought in them.”²³

On May 4th following, Böhler set out for Carolina, leaving behind him a Wesley much impressed and considerably enlightened:

²⁰Moore's *Life of Wesley*, Vol. I, p. 347 (quoted by Tyerman, *op. cit.*, p. 170).

²¹*Journal*, Bi-Cent. Edit., Vol. I, p. 413.

²²*Ibid.*, p. 436 and note (Weinantz's son spelt his name "Wynantz").

²³*Journal*, Bi-Cent. Edit., Vol. I, p. 455 n.

"My heart was now so enlarged to declare the love of God to all that were oppressed by the devil, that I did not wonder in the least when I was afterwards told, 'Sir, you must preach here no more.'"

It would seem that his sermons were too searching for the exclusive congregations of St. Lawrence, St. Katherine Cree, Great St. Helen's and the Savoy. The mood of elation did not last long; by the following week Wesley was "sorrowful and very heavy; being neither able to read, nor meditate, nor sing, nor pray, nor do anything."²⁴ As in the past, so now, Peter Böhler is the means of a slight revival of spirit. A lengthy letter, in Latin, to Wesley his "*Carissime et Suavissime Frater*" from his "*indignus Frater, Petrus Böhler*," arrived on May 10th, but it was not sufficient to restore him completely. The spirit of heaviness remained several days; then came the change which wrought a revolution in his soul, whereby the symphony of his life changed from the minor to the major key. On May 24th, 1738, he wrote:

"I think it was about five this morning, that I opened my Testament on those words: 'There are given unto us exceeding great and precious promises, even that ye should be partakers of the divine nature' (2 Pet. 1.4). Just as I went out, I opened it again on those words, 'Thou art not far from the kingdom of God.' In the afternoon I was asked to go to St. Paul's. The anthem was, 'Out of the deep have I called unto Thee, O Lord: Lord, hear my voice. O let Thine ears consider well the voice of my complaint. If Thou, Lord, wilt be extreme to mark what is done amiss, O Lord, who may abide it?'"

"In the evening I went very unwillingly to a society in Aldersgate Street, where one was reading Luther's preface to the Epistle to the Romans.²⁵ About a quarter before nine, while he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone for salvation; and an assurance was given me that He had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death.

"I began to pray with all my might for those who had in a more especial manner spitefully used me and persecuted me. I then testified openly to all there what I now first felt in my heart. But it was not long before the enemy suggested, 'This cannot be faith; for where is thy joy?' Then was I taught that peace and victory over sin are essential to faith in the Captain of our salvation; but that, as to the transports of joy that usually attend the beginning of it, especially in those who have mourned deeply, God sometimes giveth, sometimes withholdeth them, according to the counsels of His own will.

²⁴*Journal*, Bi-Cent. Edit., Vol. I, p. 460.

²⁵Thought by some scholars to be intended for *Galatians*. *Journal*, Bi-Cent. Edit., Vol. I, p. 476 n.

"After my return home, I was much buffeted with temptations; but cried out, and they fled away. They returned again and again. I as often lifted up my eyes, and He 'sent me help from His holy place.' And herein I found the difference between this and my former state chiefly consisted. I was striving, yea, fighting with all my might under the law, as well as under grace. But then I was sometimes, if not often, conquered; now, I was always conqueror."²⁶

So the life which had been lived amidst a series of difficult situations and had been overshadowed by a sense of frustration, suddenly became purposeful. Gone was the apprehension and the doubt, gone the continual "asking . . . with torturing anxiety of Hope and Fear, 'Am I right, am I wrong? Shall I be saved, shall I not be damned?'"²⁷ instead, the assurance that "He had taken away my sins, even *mine*, and saved *me* from the law of sin and death."

The level of life had changed for him. Henceforth, for over half a century he was to carry the gospel to every corner of Britain and to put forth one of the greatest social influences ever exerted in the history of human achievement. His own ideas, in their social relationship, were chiefly ameliorative. He believed most intensely that the individual was important to God and that God was vitally interested in every single man; it naturally followed as a logical sequence that if every single man had a place in God's plan, then every man's condition, spiritual and social, was important. Simply phrased, Wesley might have stated his case thus: "If I am a child of God and if Christ died for all, then every man's social, as well as his spiritual, condition must count with me." His message, then, was to the last man in the last place.

IV. THE SOCIAL TEACHING

"The gospel of Christ knows of no religion, but social; no holiness but social holiness . . ."

—Preface: *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, 1739.

The ink was hardly dry upon the written record of his religious experience already related, when Wesley launched his message on the world. On April 2nd, 1739, he writes:

"At four in the afternoon I submitted to be more vile, and proclaimed in the highways the glad tidings of salvation, speak-

²⁶*Journal*, Bi-Cent. Edit., Vol. I, pp. 472-477. In Wesley's own record the text quoted by him: 2 Peter 1:4 is also given in the original Greek.

²⁷Carlyle, T., *Past and Present*, Edit. 1858, p. 161. The author is speaking of Methodism.

ing from a little eminence in a ground adjoining to the city [Bristol], to about three thousand people."²⁸

In this simple fashion, Wesley announced the most revolutionary part of his campaign, the beginning of field preaching. The "ground adjoining to the city" was a brickyard (since built over) and now forming a part of that area of Bristol known as St. Philip's Marsh. In passing mention should be made of the use of the curious expression: "I submitted to be more vile." The expression "to be vile" was frequently used among the early members of the Methodist societies. Wesley, in a letter to James Hervey, uses the expression in a context which explains its meaning: he says, "Blessed be God, I enjoy the reproach of Christ! Oh, may you also be vile, exceeding vile, for His sake!"²⁹

From the year 1725 onwards, Wesley had held a belief in the doctrine of Christian perfection and in his *Plain Account*, he furnishes ample evidence of the progress of his thinking along these lines. By 1739, at a time when his conversion was really confirmed and he had begun the wider ministry of the itinerant evangelist, he and his brother Charles published a volume of *Hymns and Sacred Songs*. "In many of these," Wesley writes, "we declared our sentiments strongly and explicitly."³⁰ For the first time almost, in history, the common people were hearing hymns addressed to themselves, calling upon them to repent, to turn to God and to become perfect as God is perfect:

"Lord, arm me with Thy Spirit's might,
Since I am call'd by Thy great name;
In Thee my wand'ring thoughts unite,
Of all my works be Thou the aim:
Thy love attend me all my days,
And my sole business be Thy praise."³¹

To men who will sing and mean "Of all my works be Thou my aim," living is a matter of religion, and religion a matter of personality. Here again the idea of the use to God of the individual emerges as an underlying principle. Or again:

Heavenly Adam, life divine,
Change my nature into Thine;
Move and spread throughout my soul,
Actuate and fill the whole."³²

In another tract, *The Character of a Methodist*, published towards the

²⁸*Journal*, Bi-Cent. Edit., Vol. II, pp. 172 and 173.

²⁹*Letters*, Standard Edit., Vol. I, p. 287.

³⁰*Works*, V. Edit., Vol. XI, p. 370.

³¹*Methodist Hymn Book*, 1933 Edit., No. 573.

³²*Methodist Hymn Book*, 1933 Edit., No. 568.

end of 1739, he expresses the idea of Christian perfection in its social implication much more explicitly:

"In retirement or company, in leisure, business, or conversation, his heart [the Methodist's] is ever with the Lord. Whether he lie down, or rise up, 'God is in all his thoughts': He walks with God continually; having the loving eye of his soul fixed on him, and everywhere 'seeing Him that is invisible.' And loving God, he 'loves his neighbour as himself'; he loves every man as his own soul. He loves his enemies, yea, and the enemies of God. And if it be not in his power to 'do good to them that hate' him, yet he ceases not to 'pray for them,' though they spurn his love, and still 'despitefully use him, and persecute him.'"³³

Nothing could arrest a man holding and acting upon those convictions.

If the doctrine of Christian perfection was an ethical ideal, it spelt deliverance and freedom in many senses for Wesley's converts. It gave the individual a sense of personality. Men began to see in their relationship to God that they themselves had a value to Him and hence a new dignity; a sedate self-respect was born. From this root grew a new social consciousness. Wesley himself, always an evangelist, was not blind to the social implications of his own teaching:

"The gospel of Christ knows of no religion, but social; no holiness but social holiness. 'Faith working by love' is the length and breadth and depth and height of Christian perfection. 'This commandment have we from Christ, that he who loves God, love his brother also;' . . . and in truth, whosoever loveth his brethren, not in word only, but as Christ loved him, cannot be 'zealous of good works.' He feels in his soul a burning, restless desire of spending and being spent for them."³⁴

With Wesley, that "burning, restless desire of spending and being spent" resulted in all kinds of works of reform, the relief of distress, the rehabilitation of the unemployed, the education of the orphan, the writing of books and pamphlets and the petitioning of Parliament.

His *Sermon on the Use of Money* is a collection of arguments and precepts which arise naturally from the doctrine of Christian perfection. In this famous sermon, Wesley is at pains to show the right uses of money, and the Christian's duty in regard to riches. He speaks of money

³³*Works*, V. Edit., Vol. XI, pp. 371 and 372.

³⁴*Ibid.*, Vol. 14, p. 321 (being a quotation from the preface of *Hymns and Sacred Poems*. "Published by John Wesley, M. A., Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford; and Charles Wesley, M. A., Student of Christ Church, Oxford." 12mo., pp. 223, 1739).

as an instrument of good: "... it is an excellent gift of God, answering the noblest ends,"³⁵ and it is the duty of all who fear God to be able to handle "this valuable talent" aright. The whole matter he reduces to three simple rules; "gain all you can, save all you can, give all you can." He himself was his own best witness. He gave away most of what he had. Writing to a Mrs. Hall in 1768, he says: "... money never stays with me: it would burn me if it did. I throw it out of my hands as soon as possible, lest it should find a way into my heart."³⁶ The fear of his getting a liking for the "mammon of unrighteousness" was perhaps the least of his motives for "throwing it out of his hands." He seems often to be rather shocked by the display of luxury; for instance, at the residence of Mr. Lascelles at Harewood, he finishes his description of the house with the comment: "But what has the owner thereof, save the beholding them with his eyes?"³⁷ His main concern, however, which was the well-being of others, is illustrated by the following incident. In May, 1776, the House of Lords instructed "The Accomptant-General for Household Plate" to circularise persons suspected of owning silver plate but from whom no admission of ownership had been received. John Wesley duly received one of these circulars to which he replied:

Sir, I have two silver teaspoons at London, and two at Bristol. This is all the plate I have at present; and I shall not buy any more while so many round me want bread. I am, sir, Your most humble servant.³⁸

The appearance of Wesley's sermon on the use of money at this time is thought by Professor Tawney to "heighten the impression of a general acquiescence in the conventional ethics." The "conventional ethics" being the largely increasing tendency to keep religious theory and economic practice in separate water-tight compartments. "The prevalent religious thought," Tawney continues, "might not unfairly be described as morality tempered by prudence, and softened on occasion by a rather sentimental compassion for inferiors."³⁹ If that somewhat cynical utterance be true, and there is every reason to suppose that it was true of the large proportion of the population, it was not a general rule amongst the people called Methodists. The progress of the eigh-

³⁵*Works*, V. Edit., Vol. VI, p. 126.

³⁶*Letters*: Standard Edit., Vol. V, p. 108.

³⁷*Journal*, Standard Edit., Vol. VI, p. 233. The Mr. Lascelles mentioned was created earl of Harewood in 1812.

³⁸*Letters*, Standard Edit., Vol. VI, p. 230.

³⁹Tawney, R. H., *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, p. 191.

teenth century shows that as the Methodist became established, the dissent generally declined. In 1715 (i. e., in the pre-Methodist period) there is ample evidence that some sections of the dissent were wealthy and influential. In 1773, however, the reverse is the case. Wealthy supporters appear to be less numerous, the dissent is declining on the one hand while the Methodist movement is increasing numerically.⁴⁰ Undoubtedly the reason for this was that Methodism attracted the humbler classes in the main, while the attitude of Wesley towards wealth, ease, and luxury, rather discouraged the earlier wealthy adherents.

The sermon on the use of money may be said to contain the substance of Wesley's teaching concerning wealth, and forms an important contribution to contemporary thought on the right attitude towards wealth. The fear is always with him that Methodists may find riches weaning them from the truth:

"As many of them [the Methodists] increase in worldly goods, the great danger I apprehend now is their relapsing into the spirit of the world; and then their religion is but a dream."⁴¹

Similar warnings and even instances of the seductive nature of riches are given in several places in the *Journal*, while in his eighty-third year he writes to Freeborn Garrettson:

"Most of those [the converted] in England who have riches love money, even the Methodists—at least, those who are called so. . . . Let us take care to lay up our treasure in heaven."⁴²

On the whole, his views upon wealth were sane and reasonable. He might have epitomised his teaching by describing money as "a good servant and a bad master."

Wesley's view that religion largely included duty to one's neighbor has already been mentioned. For this reason, all his life, he was a great philanthropist. He saw in the rich the enemies of the poor and he hated luxury. During his lifetime poverty in England was extreme. Wages were low, especially in the mining industry and in agriculture; when the *tempo* of the Industrial Revolution began to increase, after the middle of the century, the new industrialism added its quota of misery to the squalor of the already overcrowded towns. In 1773, Wesley produced his *Thoughts on the Present Scarcity of Provisions*.⁴³ The ideas

⁴⁰Bebb, E. D., *Nonconformity and Social and Economic Life, 1660-1800*, p. 43.

⁴¹*Journal*, Bi-Cent. Edit., Vol. IV, p. 417.

⁴²*Letters*: Standard Edit., Vol. VII., pp. 343 and 344.

⁴³*Works*, V. Edit., Vol. XI, pp. 53 to 59.

set out are revolutionary for the period and show Wesley's advanced social views. His recommendations are sweeping: he suggests the prohibition of distilling to provide more corn for food and to bring down its price; he considers that horse-breeding should be cut in order to release more stocks of oats for the same purpose; he recommends that the breeding of horned cattle should be increased in order to place larger stocks of beef and mutton within reach of the poor;⁴⁴ he returns to an old theme by suggesting that luxury might be voluntarily curtailed, or forbidden altogether, and finally asks that the national debt be cut in half and all useless pensions be abolished to save taxation.

In addition to these sweeping suggestions, his own mind, always inclined towards the general betterment of the poorer classes, is full of his own schemes of charity and relief. In a letter to the vicar of Shoreham, Kent, Wesley gives what he calls a plain account of the people called Methodists. In this *Account* he relates quite simply how that various projects of an ameliorative character had been started.⁴⁵ Among the activities mentioned are the establishment of a dispensary for the sick in which, as he writes: "I took into my assistance an Apothecary, and an experienced Surgeon." In five months, more than five hundred people received medicine, seventy-one of whom, following the prescribed treatment carefully, were cured of complaints which had been thought to be chronic. In the same period, according to the record, the financial turnover was forty pounds. A poorhouse for widows and a school for poor children are described, while a loan club for lending poor people up to five pounds to the repaid in three months is credited with having saved many from the toils of the pawnbrokers: "It is almost incredible," the *Account* continues, "but it manifestly appears from their accounts [the stewards], that, with this inconsiderable sum, two hundred and fifty have been assisted, within the space of one year."⁴⁶ Almost at the end of his long life he is still collecting and disbursing on behalf of the poor. At eighty-four he writes:

"Monday the 8th. (of January, 1787) and the four following days I went a-begging for the poor. I hope to be able to provide food and raiment for those of the society who were in pressing want, yet had no weekly allowance. These were about two hundred. But I was much disappointed. Six or seven, indeed, of our brethren gave ten pounds apiece. If forty or fifty had done this, I could have carried my design into execution. However, much good was done with two hundred pounds, and many sorrowful hearts made glad."⁴⁷

⁴⁴Robert Bakewell (1725-1795) laid the foundations of scientific sheep breeding in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

⁴⁵*Works*, V. Edit., Vol. VIII, pp. 263 to 268.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, p. 267.

⁴⁷*Journal*, Bi-Cent. Edit., Vol. VII, pp. 235 and 236.

Other tracts and pamphlets followed at various times both of a social and political character. His *Appeal to Men of Reason* (1745), *A Serious Address to the People of England, with regard to the State of the Nation* (1778) and his *Estimate of the Manners of the Present Times* (1782), were aimed chiefly at awakening the nation to its own ungodly state. Many other, shorter, tracts continued to appear, each having its special message and each being chiefly concerned with some aspect of social reform, e. g., *A Word to a Sabbath-Breaker*, *A Word to a Swearer*, *A Word to a Drunkard*, *A Word to an Unhappy Woman*, *A Word to a Smuggler*, *A Word to a Condemned Malefactor*, *A Word to a Freeholder*,⁴⁸ *Advice to a Soldier*, *A Word in Season; or Advice to an Englishman*.⁴⁹ In politics Wesley was, in general, conservative, but he had his own ideas and exercised considerable influence on political thought during the eighteenth century by his writings. In his tract, *How far is it the Duty of a Christian Minister to Preach Politics?* (1782), he comes to the conclusion that on the whole a minister should remain silent, "as we may suppose they [the politicians] know their own business best."⁵⁰

There occurred in 1768 one of those crises which have frequently marked the progress of British constitutional history. John Wilkes (1727-1797), a rather worthless individual, had published in 1763 a severe criticism of the King's Speech in a paper called *The North Briton*. For this he had been brought to trial, expelled from the House of Commons, and outlawed. He fled the country but returned for the general election of 1768 and was promptly returned as member for the County of Middlesex. He wrote another libel and was again expelled from the Commons. This happened three times, and three times was he re-elected. In expelling him, the Commons were acting *ultra vires* and in an unconstitutional manner, and so at last Wilkes was allowed to take his seat in 1774 and the accounts of the expulsions were expunged from the parliamentary records in 1782. In the year that he took his seat he also became Lord Mayor of London. Parliament's unconstitutional action in regard to Wilkes' election aroused the strongest political feelings. On January 21, 1769, there appeared in *The Public Advertiser*, the first of a series of seventy letters on public affairs; these letters continued until January 21, 1772, and showed their author to

⁴⁸This pamphlet proved very popular and many thousands were printed and sold in the author's lifetime. In it he lays down what he considers to be a voter's duty at election time. "... for whom shall you vote? For the man that loves God. He must love his country, and that from a steady, invariable principle."—See *Works*, V. Edit., Vol. XI, p. 196.

⁴⁹Published in 1745, this pamphlet was a robust indictment of the Rebellion of that year, coupled with an urgent appeal for religious revival.

⁵⁰*Works*, V. Edit., Vol. XI, p. 155.

have a wide and intimate knowledge of the law, politics, and general intrigue. He was fearless, unscrupulous and rancorous in his attacks on various public figures, and was generally held in terror by those who might engage his attention. The author hid his identity so successfully under the name of *Junius* that the secret has never been discovered.

The Wilkes affair and the continuous excitement contingent upon the publication of the *Letters of Junius* brought Wesley into the arena; in 1768 he published *Free Thoughts in the Present State of Public Affairs*, and in 1772, *Thoughts upon Liberty* appeared. In these papers Wesley shows himself anxious for religious and civil freedom, but suspicious of agitation and innovation; while condemning violence, he still holds firmly by the constitution. In the same year *Thoughts concerning the Origin of Power* appeared to rebut the doctrine of John Locke that all political authority is derived from the people. In conclusion Wesley says: "So common sense brings us back to the grand truth, 'There is no power but of God.'"⁵¹

The War of American Independence provoked much comment from Wesley and great publicity was given to his opinions: "No layman was so prominent, nor had so great an influence. Some opposed and some upheld his views, but everybody was interested in them."⁵² Wesley had first-hand knowledge of some of the American colonies. In 1769 the first Methodist preachers had gone to America, and in 1771 Francis Asbury landed in Philadelphia (October 27th). In or about 1766 Robert Strawbridge formed a Methodist society at Sam's Creek, Frederick County, Maryland, while Philip Embury inaugurated a similar body in New York.⁵³ Francis Asbury, therefore, had an embryo church to guide and develop. These facts influenced Wesley's initial attitude towards the war and he discloses his view quite frankly in a letter to the earl of Dartmouth, who was Lord Privy Seal in 1775 when the war broke out. The letter was written on June 14th, 1775, and in it Wesley wrote:

"All my prejudices are against the Americans. For I am an high churchman, the son of an high churchman, bred up from my childhood in the highest notions of passive obedience and non-resistance. And yet, in spite of all my rooted prejudice, I cannot avoid thinking (if I think at all) that an oppressed people asked for nothing more than their legal rights, and that in the most modest and inoffensive manner which the nature of the thing would allow."⁵⁴

⁵¹*Works*, V. Edit., Vol. XI, p. 53.

⁵²Edwards, M., *John Wesley*, p. 70.

⁵³Lewis, J., *Francis Asbury*, p. 25.

⁵⁴*Letters*, Standard Edit., Vol. VI, p. 156.

A similar letter was sent to Lord North, First Lord of the Treasury; both letters were also published and were widely read.

Shortly after this, Wesley made, what appears today, to be a grave mistake. A copy of Dr. Samuel Johnson's tract, *Taxation no Tyranny*, fell into his hands. This tract was an elaborate attempt at excusing the taxation levied upon the American colonies, and an expression of his own conservative views on the American crisis. Wesley "flung from his pen" in corroboration, "one of those incisive and crystal pamphlets which no one could write with a firmer hand than he."⁵⁵ It was called *A Calm Address to our American Colonies* (1775) and ran to forty thousand copies in three weeks. Fortunately, the large consignment of copies destined for America was destroyed. For the moment, however, Methodism and Wesley became objects of scorn and dislike both in America and among American sympathisers in England. His *Calm Address to Inhabitants of England* (1777) is more restrained, while his real concern for America may be illustrated by the circular letter sent to the American evangelists through Thomas Rankin, March 1st, 1775:

My dear Brethren—You were never in your lives in so critical a situation as you are at this time. It is your part to be peace-makers, to be loving and tender to all, but to addict yourselves to no party. In spite of all solicitations, of rough or smooth words, say not one word against one or the other side. Keep yourselves pure, do all you can to help and soften all; but beware how you adopt another's jar.

See that you act in full union with each other: this is of the utmost consequence. Not only let there be no bitterness or anger but no shyness or coldness between you. Mark all those that would set one of you against the other. Some such will never be wanting. But give them no countenance; rather ferret them out and drag them into open day"⁵⁶

The period in which Wesley was occupied in writing his various pamphlets on the American war and the other matters already mentioned, also saw the publication of his *Thoughts upon Slavery* (1774). He was absolutely opposed to slavery. All his life he had realised that the Negro was included in his doctrine of personality and the individual's place in the divine plan, and when in 1772 he read a book by the Quaker, Anthony Benezet, he came out actively on the side of anti-slavery. On February 12th he wrote in his *Journal*:

⁵⁵Pyke, R., *Dawn of American Methodism*, pp. 90 and 91.

⁵⁶*Letters*, Standard Edit., Vol. VI, pp. 142 and 143. See also editor's note on p. 142, which refers to John Wesley's concern at the failure of Chatham's Bill for appeasing the strife with America to pass the House of Lords. Within four months the battles of Lexington (April 19th, 1775) and Bunker's Hill (June 17th, 1775) had been fought.

"I read a book, published by an honest Quaker, on that execrable sum of all villainies, commonly called the slave-trade. I read of nothing like it in the heathen world, whether ancient or modern; and it infinitely exceeds, in every instance of barbarity, whatever Christian slaves suffer in Mahometan countries."⁵⁷

In a letter to Thomas Funnell in 1787, Wesley discloses the fact that the tract, *Thoughts on Slavery*, published thirteen years earlier, had had a very wide circulation in England, but that the "slave-merchants and slave-holders . . . are mighty men,"⁵⁸ constituting a deep-seated vested interest. The last letter that Wesley ever wrote, a week before his death, was addressed to the great English abolitionist, William Wilberforce. Wilberforce's anti-slavery campaign had been met with serious opposition and he had become discouraged and desperate. Wesley wrote: "O be not weary of well doing! Go on, in the name of God and in the power of His might, till even American slavery (the vilest that ever saw the sun) shall vanish away before it."⁵⁹

Before leaving the subject of Wesley's social and humanitarian writings, a word should be added as to his work as an educationist. He wrote many books in the course of his lifetime, edited the *Arminian Magazine* for many years, and supplied England with good cheap literature for the first time in history. Through his prolific output of tracts, and other books, a very real picture of the eighteenth century has been handed on to posterity. Always anxious to impart knowledge as well as to obtain it for himself, his works contain, among other writings, the following interesting items: short grammars of the English, French, Latin, Greek and Hebrew languages; "a Compendium of Logic"; a number of works abridged from other writers; five volumes of tunes for hymns and psalms both for voices and instruments;⁶⁰ and a leaflet entitled, *Directions for Congregational Singing*.

V. THE SOCIAL IMPACT

*He sent his two servants, Whitefield and Wesley: were they Prophets,
Or were they Idiots or Madmen?—Show us Miracles!
Can you have greater miracles than these? Men who devote
Their life's whole comfort to entire scorn and injury and death?
Awake! thou sleeper on the Rock of Eternity, Albion, awake!
The trumpet of Judgement hath twice sounded: all Nations are awake,
But thou art still heavy and dull. Awake, Albion, awake!*

—From "Milton"—WILLIAM BLAKE (1757-1827).

⁵⁷*Journal*, Bi-Cent. Edit., Vol. V, pp. 445 and 446.

⁵⁸*Letters*, Stand. Edit., Vol. VIII, p. 23.

⁵⁹*Letters*: Stand. Edit., Vol. VIII, p. 265.

⁶⁰*Works*, V. Edit., Vol. XIV, p. 345.

Elie Halévy, writing about the English people as they were in 1815, states that "For sixty years . . . Methodism had been the one really civilizing influence at work among the miners whether in Durham or in Cornwall." He adds that a sudden outburst of religious enthusiasm formed the sole counteraction to the debauchery and degradation of the mining communities.⁶¹ Here then is the evidence of important social reaction to the preaching of religion: men and women are influenced to exchange a life of wrong for one of respectability and chastity. With such a change at the centre of an individual's life, further reforms are likely to take place and others are influenced for good. Mrs. Dorothy George says that "Methodism doubtless counted for much both as a civilising influence among the people and as one of the channels of the growing spirit of humanity and the growing knowledge of the poorer sort."⁶² The Hammonds, while being impartial in religious matters, state plainly that Methodism was "the most important event in eighteenth-century England."⁶³ They believe also that Methodism was conservative and that "it sought to make people contented with their material lot."⁶⁴ Earlier opinions had gone even farther and plainly asserted that the Methodist revival had saved England from horrors similar to those which overtook France in the last decade of the eighteenth century. Lecky states:

"England, on the whole, escaped the contagion. Many causes conspired to save her, but among them a prominent place must, I believe, be given to the new and vehement religious enthusiasm which was at that very time passing through the middle and lower classes of the people, which had enlisted in its service a large proportion of the wilder and more impetuous reformers, and which recoiled with horror from the anti-Christian tenets that associated with the Revolution in France."⁶⁵

Undoubtedly when the full force of the Industrial Revolution struck the country, bringing so many difficulties in its train, the "vehement religious enthusiasm" formed a bulwark against both actionary and reactionary influences. J. R. Green, adding his quota, affirms that at the close of Walpole's ministry "a religious revival burst forth which changed in a few years the whole temper of English society." He goes

⁶¹Halévy, E., *A History of the English People in 1815*, Pelican Edit., Book 2, p. 88.

⁶²George, M. D., *London Life in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 12.

⁶³Hammond, J. L. & B., *The Age of the Chartist*, p. 237.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, *The Rise of Modern Industry*, p. 261.

⁶⁵Lecky, W. E. H., *England in the Eighteenth Century*, 1913 Edit., Vol. III, p. 146.

on to show how that the revival led to a new spirit of philanthropy, reform of the prisons, modification of the penal laws, abolition of the slave trade within the British Empire, and to steps being taken towards universal education.⁶⁶

The first half century of Methodism shows a widening influence, but like all religious movements it seems to have found it necessary to make some sort of compromise with material interests. Here again Halévy holds a fine balance and asserts that Methodism was no exception to the age-old practice of separating religion and business:

"No Church, however, can be successful except by coming to terms with the Devil. The evangelicalism of Wesley and Whitefield, in many respects remorselessly fanatical, had learnt to adapt itself to the economic requirements of Northwest England, and displayed the greatest indulgence towards all the business methods of the speculative financier or promoter. Here also a fusion took place between two opposed tendencies. There came into existence a class of austere men, hard workers and greedy of gain, who considered it their twofold duty to make a fortune in business and to preach Christ crucified. This class had its hypocrites, but it had also its saints—zealous philanthropists, who were, moreover, possessed of the practical turn of mind which enabled them to effect their schemes of benevolence without self-impoverishment."⁶⁷

The compromise of one section, however, did not prevent another section from preserving the pure and unadulterated teaching of the founder. Wesley drew to himself a body of men, chiefly from the lower ranks of society, who "came out" as preachers and class leaders. To mention some of the better known of these evangelists, we have: John Nelson, a mason; Peter Jaco, a fisherman; Duncan Wright, a soldier; Alexander Mather, a baker's assistant; John Murlin, farmer's boy turned carpenter; George Story, a bookseller's assistant; Sampson Staniforth, a baker; Christopher Hopper, a wagoner; Matthias Joyce, a printer; John Valton, a civil servant; Jasper Robinson, a potter; and Thomas Walsh, a schoolmaster.⁶⁸

After conversion the majority of these men proved their ability as leaders and teachers. They thus gained a dignity not known before. A real and sound democracy was born.

⁶⁶Green, J. R., *A Short History of the English People*, Everyman Edit., pp. 693f.

⁶⁷Halévy, E., *A History of the English People in 1815*, Pelican Edit., Book 2, p. 114.

⁶⁸In his *Imposture Detected, and the Dead Vindicated*, Rowland Hill, a bitter opponent of Wesley, refers to these early preachers as a "ragged legion of preaching barbers, cobblers, tinkers, scavengers, draymen, and chimney sweepers." See Tyerman, L., *Life and Times of John Wesley*, Vol. III, p. 256.

"Methodism taught the common man how to work his own representative organisations by the experience of the class meeting and by the multiplication of local preachers throughout the length and breadth of the land."⁶⁹

Although the men attracted to the standard of the Wesleys were for the most part drawn from the lower orders, they were often well-informed, self-educated individuals, who deemed it their duty to equip themselves as soundly as possible for the work of evangelism. The tradition has persisted, and all through the history of the Methodist Church there have been many preachers and teachers of outstanding ability and prowess.

Here perhaps we may observe one of the most important of the social influences of the Methodist Revival—the cultural. So many of the newly-converted were unable to read that it was found expedient to set up Sunday Schools where the members of the Methodist societies might be taught; in this manner many thousands learned to read. In these days of almost universal literacy, we are apt to overlook the power which an ability to read suddenly places in a man's hand. To a person to whom reading is a novelty, any book is worth reading—a man can read the Bible or *Das Kapital*, the Sermon on the Mount or *Mein Kampf*. Far-seeing John Wesley was at once alive to the power which an ability to read conferred; he was also conscious of the shortage of suitable books for the untutored, so he set to work and in due course produced a number of volumes on various topics for the edification of his followers. The staple reading of the early Methodists, after the Bible, consisted of the Methodist hymn books, the first of which appeared in 1738; the *Arminian Magazine*, first issued in 1778 and aimed chiefly at refuting the doctrine of election beloved of Toplady and Rowland Hill;⁷⁰ and the *Christian Library*, "Consisting of Extracts from, and Abridgments of, the choicest Pieces of practical Divinity which have been published in the English Tongue. In Fifty Volumes . . . 1749-1755."⁷¹

It was in the pages of the *Arminian Magazine* that the records of the lives and experiences of many of the early Methodist preachers were preserved; these accounts were first collected and published in separate form by Thomas Jackson in 1837-1838.⁷²

⁶⁹Rev. Dr. A. W. Harrison, in his presidential address at the Methodist Conference, Nottingham, 17th July, 1945.

⁷⁰See Tyerman, L., *Life and Times of John Wesley*, Vol. III, p. 280f.

⁷¹*Works*: V. Edit., Vol. XIV, pp. 220-222.

⁷²Bett, H., *The Spirit of Methodism*, p. 140.

Undoubtedly the prose writings and poetry of the Wesleys formed a very real contribution to literature and had great cultural value for those who read them in the pages of Wesley's varied publications. The honest observer will see from the accounts of the lives of various early Methodists that, notwithstanding their frequently humble origins, they often became men of culture. The added interests and wider horizons which culture conferred, influenced many Methodists in later years to enter public life. In this way Methodism impinged on politics. Dr. Maldwyn Edwards, writing of Methodism after Wesley's death, quotes the poet Crabbe:

All innovation they with dread decline,
Their John the Elder was the John divine.

From this it may be deduced that at this time at least, about 1791, Methodism was strongly conservative. Within Methodism Wesley was autocratic; he himself disliked change; it is, therefore, not surprising that he should have been a Tory in politics and that his close friends and successors in the Methodist Connexion should have agreed with him. Dr. Edwards finds that at this period the dominant note in Methodism was conservative.⁷³ In addition to this fact there were two other reasons for the maintenance of the conservative attitude, both of which savour of the compromise already mentioned (see note 67): the first was the increasing wealth of the Methodists both as business proprietors, entrepreneurs and skilled workmen; and the second was the nation-wide reaction to the French Revolution. The atheism of the French government appalled religious circles in Britain, and hence the view became general that democracy was identical with license, violence, infidelity and irreligion. This conservative view died hard; the ruling section of the Methodist Church remained strongly Tory for another half-century. The disturbing affair of Peterloo in 1819, resulting in the death of twelve people and the injury of at least one hundred, called forth no protest from the Methodists notwithstanding that radicals all over the country were angry beyond measure.⁷⁴

The affair at Peterloo made it perfectly plain to the country at large that the reaction of the French Revolution period, good for the time being and satisfactory so far in preventing a similar outburst in England, was outmoded. Reform was taking place on every hand,

⁷³Edwards, M., *After Wesley*, pp. 13-36.

⁷⁴*Peterloo*: A large crowd of people met on St. Peter's Field, Manchester, on August 6th, 1819, to carry out a peaceful demonstration in favour of parliamentary reform. There was nothing threatening about the crowd, but the magistrates took alarm, called out the military, and allowed a troop of yeomanry to charge the defenceless people, with disastrous results.

partly because of the recrudescence of reactionary tendencies on the Continent. Huskisson was bringing about fiscal revision, Peel was engaged in reforming the penal code, while Roman Catholics and dissenters gained religious freedom in 1829. Hopes ran high when the Whig Government came into power in 1831 and an act for parliamentary reform was promised. In due course the Reform Act of 1832 was passed, but the working classes were bitterly disappointed with the meagre increase in the franchise, and agitation broke out once more. The result was the birth of Chartism, which became most pronounced in its activity in the years 1837, 1842, 1847 and 1848, all of which were years of acute distress.

Officially the Methodist Church was unsympathetic to Chartism. Methodist people were instructed to hold themselves aloof from the movement. The arrest and transportation of the Dorchester labourers is a case in point. A few agricultural labourers, Methodist local preachers for the most part, in despair at the low standard of living of themselves and their fellows, combined to form an Agricultural Labourers' Union. They were arrested and condemned to transportation. Jabez Bunting, the leader of the Methodists, would have nothing to do with the case and refused to make representations to the authorities on their behalf. According to Mr. Howell, the fact that they were Methodists was probably the chief reason for their arrest. "They were Methodists," he says, "a shocking offence in those days in many villages, especially in Dorset. Indeed, next to poaching, it was the gravest of all offences. Agricultural labourers who could desert the mother Church—well, they could be guilty of anything."⁷⁵ Hatred of the Methodists undoubtedly prompted action on the part of the clergy, but the real reason behind the persecution of the Dorchester labourers was the intention of the magistrates to stamp out any tendencies towards the promotion of societies for the protection of workers or the raising of wages.

In some cases where Methodist members had joined the Chartist organization, individual ministers took drastic action. James Ardrey was expelled from the membership of the society at City Road Chapel on January 7th, 1840, in "that he had joined himself to the 'Chartist Association'" and on that account he "rendered himself unworthy of membership with us."⁷⁶ The minister of Horton Lane Chapel, Bradford, writing in 1841, admits that there were Chartists among his flock

⁷⁵Howell, G., *Labour Legislation, Labour Movements and Labour Leaders*, p. 64.

⁷⁶*Notes from the City Road Minute Books*, The Wesley Historical Society Proceedings, June, 1942, p. 121.

and describes them as "radical subverters of our constitution."⁷⁷ It is thought generally among historians that the Methodist authorities of the period argued syllogistically that Chartists were radicals and radicals were infidels; hence to be a Chartist was to be an unbeliever. If the official attitude of Methodism was conservative, then the behaviour of many of the rank and file, in increasing numbers as the century wore on, was liberal.

"The People's Charter" from which the Chartists took their name was a simple affair really, entirely concerned with parliamentary and electoral reform. It consisted of six points: universal suffrage, vote by ballot, annual parliaments, equal electoral districts, abolition of all property qualifications, and payment to members of parliament for services. Many Christians espoused this cause and endued these simple ideals with a religious quality. They saw in the fulfilment of the charter's objectives, a token of the coming of the Kingdom of Heaven. In many towns, Chartist churches were opened or Chartist classes were started in connection with the Methodist Church,—mostly at independent chapels: Primitive Methodist and Methodist New Connexion, but very few in Wesleyan Methodist chapels. William Lovett himself, the draughtsman of "The People's Charter," was brought up as a Bible Christian Methodist; the Rev. J. Rayner Stephens, a great worker for factory reform and Church disestablishment, was deprived of his office as Methodist minister and expelled in 1834. Another Methodist minister named Jackson, living at Stockport, advocated physical force, while another minister, the Rev. James Schofield of the Bible Christian Connexion, was arrested in 1843 on a charge of sedition.⁷⁸

In spite of the firm pressure from above, opinions among the rank and file of Methodism were moving towards the left. The Methodist system of class meetings and the training of local preachers in the art of public speaking, gave many the opportunity of exchanging the pulpit for the platform and the sermon for the political address. Some carried their principles and beliefs with them; others dropped their earlier religious views and adopted others, more secular. Of this latter class was Thomas Cooper, in his early days an acceptable and busy local preacher. Self-educated and cultured, he soon attracted attention and in due course became the leader of the Chartists in Leicester.

⁷⁷J. L. & B. Hammond, *The Age of the Chartists*, p. 248n (quoting from a pamphlet entitled *The Dangers and Duties of the Christian Elector*).

⁷⁸Edwards, M., *This Methodism*, p. 26.

Becoming a local preacher in 1829, he broke with the Wesleyan Methodists in 1834. Of his local preaching he writes: "My engagement in the office of local preacher was a source of rich delight to me," but adds ruefully, after parting from the Methodists, "I cannot help tracing that alienation to its roots in these harsh dealings from ministers and professors of religion."⁷⁹ After the disappearance of Chartism, Cooper threw himself into lecturing and writing, and by 1858 had returned to religion and was as busy as ever with preaching and lecturing from pulpit and platform. His re-conversion is in no small measure due to the influence of his life-long friend, Rev. Dr. Frederick James Jobson, an ex-president of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference and the man to whom Cooper dedicated his autobiography.

Other prominent Methodist local preachers of the period, who were associated with Chartism, were John Skevington, a friend of Thomas Cooper; Joseph Capper of Staffordshire; John Markham of Leicester; John Black, J. Barrett and J. Harrison, all of Nottingham. Chartism, with its emphasis on liberty, found in Methodism a vehicle for its development, and out of the sentiments so largely expressed in the Methodist doctrine and hymns concerning freedom, it built its political gospel. According to Cooper, many of the Chartist songs were written to fit such popular tunes as the "Old Hundredth," "New Crucifixion," and "Calcutta." Cooper, himself, when conducting large political meetings in Leicester market place, usually began with worship, and based his address on words taken from the Scriptures.⁸⁰

It is perhaps in its political aspect that the social influence of the Methodist Revival is most obvious. After Chartist agitation had died down, out of the dying embers of the fire, as it were, sprang up a strong liberal thought and the beginnings of Christian Socialism in the tradition of F. D. Maurice and Charles Kingsley, both of whom were staunch friends of Thomas Cooper. Dr. Wearmouth says that "Methodism was a kind of Radicalism in the religious world, while Radicalism was a sort of Methodism in the political sphere,"⁸¹—an extremely apt way of stating the case. Both Radicals and Methodists were "suspect" and for that reason came together as all rebels do.

This democratic tendency led to several far-reaching (for those days) reforms, one outstanding advance being the place given to women in the various branches of Methodism, particularly the Primitive Metho-

⁷⁹Cooper, T., *Life* (Autobiography), 1897 Edit., pp. 89 and 102.

⁸⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 160-169. This book is a very interesting record of Chartism and is especially helpful for its sidelights on the Methodism of the period.

⁸¹Wearmouth, R. F., *Methodism and the Working-Class Movements of England, 1800-1850*, p. 218.

dist and United Methodist Connexions.⁸² The Bible Christians recognized the importance of women from the first. Their founder, William O'Bryan, held that "Scripture, reason, history and experience" supported woman's claim to share in the work of God. O'Bryan's wife and daughter, Mary, were among the first and most energetic of the preachers. By 1822 two women, Catherine Reed and Ann Cory, were wooing crowds in the London streets, while Mary O'Bryan had commenced rescue work among the street women of the metropolis. In 1819, so successfully did the women work, that of the thirty traveling preachers, fourteen were women. By 1823 over one hundred women were serving. Three are especially worthy of mention: Johanna Brooks Neale, expelled for testifying in Morwenstow Parish Church, joined William O'Bryan and carried through a most successful revival; Mary Toms conceived the idea of, and carried out, the evangelisation of the Isle of Wight; Mary Anne Werry went to the Scilly Isles in 1821 and to the Channel Islands in 1823, preaching and teaching, laying the foundations of a robust Methodist group in each place. The Bible Christian tradition has persisted in these places ever since.⁸³

The Primitive Methodists relied much on the work of women also, the names of Mary Porteous and Elizabeth Smith being particularly famous. The *Minutes of Conference* of 1832 give the names of thirteen women preachers. "Primitive Methodism began with the belief practically held that there was no sex limitation in church work."⁸⁴ It would appear from these examples that Methodism had reached a conclusion upon sex equality at least a century ahead of the state.

The Methodists, however, were pioneers in other directions, too, more especially where working-class movements were concerned. Trade unionism, the cooperative societies, temperance, adult education, friendly societies and politics, each drew largely upon the body of Methodist local preachers and class leaders for support and guidance. It is not surprising, therefore, that in due time the Methodist people, slowly and surely building up a tradition of social service, should have come to the fore in works of reform, notably philanthropic and educational.

⁸²A word of explanation regarding the various Methodist groups may be fitting: the Primitive Methodists split off from the original body in 1796; the Methodist New Connexion, with William Thom and Alexander Kilham at its head, started in 1797. In 1907 a union between the Methodist New Connexion, the Bible Christian Methodists (established between 1815 and 1826), and the United Methodist Free Church (a collection of smaller Methodist bodies), took place under the style of the United Methodist Church.

⁸³Townsend, Workman & Eayrs: *A New History of Methodism*, Vol. I, pp. 509 and 510.

⁸⁴*Ibid.*, p. 585.

Wesley himself had done much to encourage the establishment of Sunday Schools. Writing to Richard Rodda of Chester in 1787, Wesley refers to the "blessed work of setting up Sunday Schools in Chester." He continues: "It seems to me that these will be one great means of reviving religion throughout the nation."⁸⁵ He records preaching to the Sunday School at Wigan on Friday, April 18th, 1788, and gives an account of the singing of the Bolton Sunday School scholars on the following day.⁸⁶ Education in England during the second half of the eighteenth century was, in the main, indifferent where the working classes and the poor were concerned. There were three types of school which catered to these classes: the charity schools started in 1698 by the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge and which merely taught children to read and write; the "Dames' Schools," which were disorderly and inadequate; and the schools of industry which trained pauper children for industry. For the reason, therefore, that these schools were unable to meet the growing demands for education from a rapidly increasing population, the importance of the Sunday Schools is emphasised. On July 18th, 1784, Wesley preached in Bingley and visited the Sunday School there. He found two hundred and forty children being taught by several masters each Sunday from 8 A. M. until 6 P. M. In his opinion, by means of the Sunday School, children "are restrained from open sin, and taught a little good manners, at least, as well as to read the Bible." He states that schools were springing up wherever he went.⁸⁷

Wesley's followers succeeded in getting Sunday Schools established in most of the large towns, and the conference of 1854 received a report that the number of scholars in the Wesleyan Methodist Sunday Schools was 401,763; within fifty years more the figure was in excess of a million.⁸⁸ Day schools had been opened in a few places like London, Bristol and Newcastle, and in the course of the first fifty years of the nineteenth century their numbers increased quickly. The Methodist authorities were alive to the importance and utility of such undertakings, and the 1857 conference received a report that there were 434 day schools open, attended by 52,630 scholars.⁸⁹ The influence spread to other denominations, and Sunday Schools continued to grow in numbers and quality. In 1835, for instance, "at the annual meeting of the Sunday School Society which was representative of all the Churches, it

⁸⁵*Letters*: Standard Edit., Vol. VII, p. 364.

⁸⁶*Journal*: Standard Edit., Vol. VII, pp. 356 and 357.

⁸⁷*Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁸⁸Edward, M., *John Wesley and the Eighteenth Century*, p. 139.

⁸⁹*Ibid.*, p. 143.

was reported that 27,365 spelling books, 6,605 alphabets on boards, 5,853 primers, 720 Bibles and 3,852 New Testaments had been distributed in the year."⁹⁰

Methodist Sunday Schools, not always conducted in connection with specific churches, began to fill one of the greatest needs of the age and really initiated the movement for universal education. Dr. Edwards is of the opinion that Methodism and the Established Church, together, formed the greatest force for popular education in England; and that, during the early years of the nineteenth century, Methodism devoted its attention primarily, in the field of education, to the instruction of those who were neglected and underprivileged.⁹¹

What was true in the realms of education and culture was true in respect of humanitarianism and philanthropy. Wesley, himself an avowed enemy of the slave trade, as we have seen, wrote strongly against it. His encouragement of Wilberforce and his influence with his own followers had prepared some kind of public opinion in favour of abolition. The agitation prior to the debate in the House of Commons on the subject of abolition, which took place on April 2nd and 3rd, 1792, produced several large petitions, including one from the Methodists containing 229,426 signatures.⁹² During the whole of the period in which the question of abolition was under review until 1833, the year in which slavery was abolished within the British Empire, the Methodist witness against the evil trade had been faithfully maintained.

Wilberforce is really the connecting link between Wesley, the Methodist Revival, and the larger aspect of Christian philanthropy which became active from about 1790 onwards. Wilberforce had contracted a close friendship in political circles with the brothers, Henry and Robert Thornton, who, like Wilberforce, were members of Parliament. The families were connected by marriage, and when Henry Thornton purchased his property at Clapham, in South London, his house became the resort of "men and women from all parts of the country, of many different walks of life and of a variety of religious persuasions,"⁹³ many of whom shared that strong uncompromising attitude of thought characteristic of the Evangelical revival. This group, which became known as the Clapham Sect, included such figures as Granville Sharp, the abolitionist; Thomas Scott, the Bible commentator; Hannah More, the Sunday School founder; John Venn, rector of Clapham Parish Church; Joseph Butterworth, M. P., and Thomas Thomson, M. P., two influential Methodist philanthropists. The societies that were founded

⁹⁰Edwards, M., *After Wesley*, p. 105.

⁹¹*Ibid.*, p. 109.

⁹²*Ibid.*, p. 67.

⁹³Payne, E. A., *The Church Awakes*, p. 45.

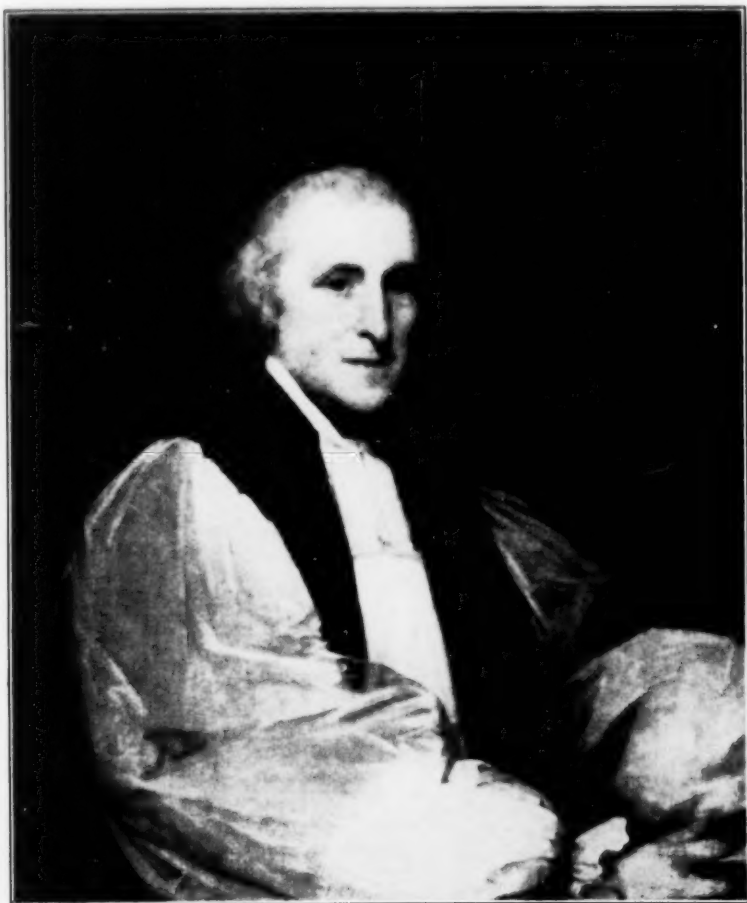
and sponsored by members of the Clapham Sect included the British and Foreign Bible Society, the Religious Tract Society, the Society for the Establishment of Sunday Schools (afterwards the Sunday School Union), and the Society for Suppression of Vice. Wilberforce, himself, was perhaps the central figure of the brilliant company which made up the group. As Mr. Payne points out, Wilberforce "and his friends were not only the benefactors of the slaves; they played an essential part in laying the foundations of the world-wide Christian Church of our own time."⁹⁴ Wilberforce died in 1833, but not before he had the joy of knowing that slavery had been abolished within the British Empire. Wesley's *Athanasius contra mundum* had overcome.⁹⁵ Addressing the House of Commons on the day that Wilberforce died, his friend, Fowell Buxton, referred to him, in the words of William Cowper, as:

A veteran warrior in the Christian field,
Who never saw the sword he could not wield.

So the revival which had begun in Oxford a century before, had won its widening way and the whole nation had felt its social impact. The little stream which had gushed out so many years before in Oxford had become a mighty river, flowing through and cleansing the heart of England.

⁹⁴Payne, E. A., *The Church Awakes*, p. 47.

⁹⁵See note 59. Wesley refers in this letter to Wilberforce as an *Athanasius contra mundum*.



THE RIGHT REVEREND WILLIAM WHITE, D. D.
APRIL 4, 1748—JULY 17, 1836

ORDAINED DEACON, DECEMBER 23, 1770; PRIEST, APRIL 25, 1772;
BISHOP, FEBRUARY 4, 1787

ASSISTANT MINISTER, UNITED CHURCHES OF CHRIST CHURCH
AND ST. PETER'S, 1772-1779; RECTOR, 1779-1836

FIRST BISHOP OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1787-1836

PRESIDING BISHOP, 1795-1836

HE WAS THE CONSECRATOR OF TWENTY-SIX BISHOPS, BEGINNING
WITH ROBERT SMITH OF SOUTH CAROLINA, AND ENDING WITH JACK-
SON KEMPER OF THE NORTHWEST. HE WAS A CO-CONSECRATOR OF
THOMAS JOHN CLAGGETT OF MARYLAND, THE FIRST BISHOP CONSE-
CRATED IN AMERICA (1792).

BISHOP WHITE'S THEOLOGY

The Theological Writings of Bishop White, Selected Essays, with an Introductory Survey, by Sidney A. Temple, Jr., Ph. D.
(New York, King's Crown Press, 1946)¹

A REVIEW

*By William Wilson Manross**

The relationship between ideas and events is one of the most interesting problems of history, and a question of some practical importance as well. If we could determine with any degree of certainty to what extent ideas can shape events, and to what extent they are shaped by events, we would have made substantial progress towards answering the crucial question: How far can human beings, by conscious effort, direct the course of social development? Unfortunately, many discussions of this topic are rendered of little value through being concerned too much with broad generalizations, not founded on that detailed study of the evidence in particular cases without which any historical judgment is worthless.

If such a detailed study were ever undertaken the role of Bishop William White in the organization of the American Episcopal Church after the Revolution might well merit attention, for there can be no doubt that he was largely influential in introducing several distinctive features of its polity, notably the federal character of its government, the representation of the laity in its councils, and the requirement of their assent for ordination to any branch of the ministry. The question, how far, in advocating these measures, White was merely conforming to the conditions of his time, and how far he was influenced by previously formed theoretical opinions, is one of some general interest, apart from its importance for the understanding of this particular period of Church history.

¹This is the title as given on the title page. In a recent catalog of Columbia University Press, of which King's Crown Press is a division, the book is listed as *The Commonsense Theology of Bishop White*.

*Dr. Manross is the author of *William White, A Sketch of the First Bishop of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1934); *A History of the American Episcopal Church* (New York and Milwaukee, 1935); *The Episcopal Church in the United States 1800-1840: A Study in Church Life* (New York, 1938), and numerous articles in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE* and other periodicals.—*Editor's Note*.

The consideration of this problem has, in the past, been complicated by a widespread misunderstanding of White's theological views. This misunderstanding, which began in the bishop's own lifetime, was the result, partly, of the desire of all parties in the Church to claim the patriarch as their own, and, partly, of the obscurity of his literary style; but, chiefly, it is believed, of the fact that, while his opinions did not change much with the years, other people's did, so that his thinking became separated from its original frame of reference.

The work now under consideration should do much to clear up this confusion. Dr. Temple has made a representative selection from Bishop White's theological writings, covering the most important issues with which he dealt, and has prefaced them with an able introductory survey, in which he analyses White's opinions, and explains the intellectual background out of which they developed. After a careful comparison of the introduction and the selections, the present reviewer is well satisfied that the author's interpretation is amply supported by the documents. Dr. Temple's style, in contrast to White's, is admirably lucid, so that his essay can be easily understood by anyone having an elementary acquaintance with the language of theology and philosophy.

Neither the survey nor the selections give a complete system of divinity, for the excellent reason that White never published any. His writings were all directed to the solution of special problems, or the settling of definite issues, but there is in them none of the hasty or superficial thinking which sometimes characterizes such *ad hoc* productions. They are particular applications of a system of ideas that was evidently well thought out, even if never fully elucidated, and it is possible to infer from them his stand on most of the important questions of Christian belief.

In the first chapter of this introduction the author sketches his subject's social and educational background. The circumstance that White was the son of Church parents preserved him from the convert's bias, which, unless he is a man of unusual intellectual breadth, tends to make one attach an exaggerated importance to the aspects of Church teaching which first attracted him. The future bishop grew up in a home characterized by wealth, culture, kindness, and simple piety, an atmosphere calculated to produce a balanced judgment, and sincere, if not intensely emotional, religious devotion. His scholastic training was received in the Philadelphia Academy and College, the precursor of the University of Pennsylvania. This institution, founded under the auspices of Benjamin Franklin, with the liberal Anglican, William Smith, at its head, was a pioneer in the modern ideals of secular education, at a time when the other five American colleges were still primarily training schools

for the ministry. Logic, philosophy, and natural philosophy, or science, received more emphasis than theology in its curriculum.

With such an intellectual background, White was not unnaturally attracted to the philosophical empiricism of John Locke. His approach to the problems of theology and polity was always an empirical one, laying great stress on scriptural and historical evidence. The author probably does not exaggerate in saying, "In his discipleship of Locke he was perhaps as thoroughgoing as any theologian has ever been." Since Locke, as Dr. Temple also notes, furnished "the political philosophy of the American patriots," this mental outlook enabled White to speak to the men of the Revolutionary era in language which they could comprehend, but it may have contributed to the misunderstanding of his thought in the nineteenth century.

He heard Whitefield preach twice, and was impressed by his ability as an elocutionist, but he was not attracted by his teaching, disliked his emotionalism, and disapproved of his slighting of ecclesiastical discipline. He was also repelled by the pietism of William Law and Jacob Boehme, to which he was introduced by two of his predecessors in the rectorship of Christ Church, Richard Peters and Jacob Duché. It is not surprising, therefore, that, without changing his own views, he became alienated from the low church party when, in his later years, it was captured by the Evangelicals.

That White's empiricism was fundamentally, not just incidentally, religious, is shown in Dr. Temple's second chapter, and in the related selections: "The Source of Knowledge," originally delivered as the first commencement address at General Seminary, in 1823; and "An Argument in Favor of Divine Revelation," first published in *The Protestant Episcopal Magazine*, vol. III. Not only did he regard revelation as furnishing an essential portion of the data upon which empirical judgments were to be based, but, while holding that men's perceptions, interpreted by reason, formed the only media through which they could arrive at truth, he also maintained that the right exercise of these faculties required the assistance of divine grace. Without this aid, men were, he held, in danger both of accidental error, and of the distortion of judgment by passion. Since he believed that a holy life furnished the best evidence of one's being under the influence of grace, he, in effect, asserted a presumption in favor of the judgment of religious men as opposed to those who were irreligious, though it is not known that he ever insisted upon this presumption in argument. Doubtless, he foresaw the objections to which such insistence would give rise.

White rejected the idea, popular, in his day, not only among the deists, but among many orthodox believers, also, that the essential doc-

trines of religion could be deduced from an observance of natural phenomena. The human mind, he held, was incapable of arriving at an even approximately correct idea of God without the aid of revelation. When belief in God, in anything like the Christian sense, appeared in other religions, he maintained that they had derived it from Christianity or Judaism. In the two instances to which he gave most attention, those of Deism and Mohammedanism, he was undoubtedly correct.

In carrying out this argument, he cast aside Paley's watch, one of the most popular apologetic gadgets of his day, observing that the supposed finder of the watch must have been prepared for his recognition of it as a product of human contrivance "by his familiarity with the instrument, and by his knowledge of the dependence of the machinery on the will of the constructor." Similarly, a believer prepared by revelation, might find confirmation of what he had learned in contemplating the works of nature, but it did not follow that he could be led to a belief in God by that means alone. The inference of a Supreme Contriver from an analogy between the universe and human inventions holds good only if there is presumed to be so close a similarity between them as to permit the argument to proceed from one to the other. Paley and most of his contemporaries did hold such a mechanical view of the cosmos, but the subsequent history of Mechanism would seem to confirm White's opinion that it tended to irreligion rather than to religion.

The bishop went so far in his opposition to natural religion as to postulate a definite flight from God on the part of fallen man, holding that the correct theology revealed to Adam had degenerated into idolatry because of "those frailties which indispose men to the contemplation of an ever-present God." He did not, however, go to the length of adopting the opposite extreme of rationalism, belief in direct inspiration. Though he did not categorically deny the possibility of such inspiration, his warnings against the danger of being deluded by passion and prejudice masquerading in its form were so emphatic as to indicate that he considered it more dangerous than useful as a means of practical guidance.

He also rejected the related idea that the Scriptures were "self-vindicating," through the direct affirmation of their truth by the Holy Spirit, dwelling in the spirit of the regenerate believer. The basis of his faith was always a historical revelation, historically verified and historically interpreted. Because of this attitude, he showed more respect for patristic tradition than some Protestant theologians have done. Such authority as he accorded it, however, was based, not on any theory of a supplementary, interpretive revelation to the Church, but upon the simple historical principle that those nearest to the sacred writings in point of time were in the best position to understand their meaning. Conse-

quently, he drew a sharp distinction between the ante- and post-Nicene fathers, and, among the former, attached the greatest weight to those of the sub-apostolic age.

Dr. Temple is probably right in believing that White's approach to the Scriptures makes him spiritually and intellectually akin to those who, since his day, have sought to verify their authenticity by the technique of higher criticism, though it is not known that he was acquainted with the beginnings of this science which were made in his own lifetime, except as it may have been faintly foreshadowed in the commentaries of Bishop Lowth. These were included in the syllabus of theological studies that he drew up at the request of General Convention.

Dr. Temple's third chapter deals with the important topic of White's doctrine of the Church. The discussion of this subject is based mainly on the bishop's earliest and most famous pamphlet, *The Case of the Episcopal Churches in the United States Considered*, the relevant portions of which are reprinted among the selections. Though the most controversial proposal of this pamphlet, the ordination of ministers by the collective authority of the presbyters, with lay consent, was predicated upon an expected emergency which failed to develop, this reviewer believes that the author is right in holding that the theory of the Church, upon which this and the other recommendations were based, was the product of White's mature judgment, and continued to be held by him throughout his life. There is no evidence that he ever retracted it, and there are numerous allusions in his later writings which indicate that he retained it in all its essentials. Some people, it is true, if confronted with an emergency, will recommend measures which are the fruit of heedlessness and panic, but the advice of a thoughtful man, such as White certainly was, will always be based upon opinions carefully formed in advance of the crisis.

White believed that the Church could, in a case of necessity, continue to function, and replenish its ministry, even if deprived temporarily of the episcopal succession. He believed this for the simple reason that, while he regarded episcopacy as of primitive and probably apostolic origin, and thought that it should be retained wherever possible, he did not consider it essential to the existence of a Christian church. This was the traditional low church position, and, as he showed by numerous citations, it was the general position of reformed Anglicanism prior to the rise of Stuart high churchmanship, a party which he characterized, in two treatises written forty years later,² as advocating a retro-

²"Sacrifice, Altar, Priest." 1820; and "The Basis of Knowledge," 1823, both reproduced in the present work.

gression to pre-Reformation ideas. As he himself summed up the issue in the *Case*: "That the Apostles adopted any particular form, affords a presumption of its being best, all circumstances at that time considered; but to make it unalterably binding, it must be shown enjoined in positive precept."

So far as our internal arrangements are concerned, this question has become largely academic, since there is no likelihood of the Church's again being in danger of losing the succession, but it is still of some practical importance in its bearing on external ecclesiastical relations. Whatever our belief as to the antiquity and value of episcopacy, dare we, in the absence of a clear and unequivocal command that this form of ministry, and this only, shall be perpetually continued, deny the existence of valid orders in churches which, though deprived of the episcopal succession, have shown themselves fruitful in Christian labors?

Apart from the question of succession, White, at the time that he wrote the *Case*, had a low opinion of the authority of a bishop, holding him to be simply a "permanent president, who, in conjunction with other clergymen to be also appointed by the body, may exercise such powers as are pudely spiritual, particularly that of admitting to the ministry." In the opinion of Dr. Temple, "This is a picture of the bishops and presbyters which probably approaches closely to the form of organization which held in the earliest Christian centuries." The present reviewer, who decided long ago that the evidence did not warrant the formation of any definite theory as to the organization of the primitive Church, can only note this opinion as one which may excite an interesting controversy. In this one particular, it is probable that White did subsequently modify his views, at least in practice. In his later years, possibly under the influence of Bishop Hobart, he exercised a more decided leadership in his diocese than would seem to be implied by the doctrine of a permanent presidency.

More important historically, because they became a permanent feature of our ecclesiastical constitution, were White's proposals for a federal organization of the Church, and the representation of the laity in its government. A federal organization was probably the only one that could have been adopted at the time, because of state and local jealousies, but, to White, it was not merely an arrangement of convenience. He believed that it was sound in principle. He agreed with the Congregationalists in holding the basic equality of all local churches, but, unlike them (in their original theory, at least), he did not stop there. He recognized the necessity of a general organization, and held that such powers as were necessary for the good of the whole should be

delegated to a central authority, a view which was a natural outgrowth of the empirical character of his thought. As Dr. Temple observes, "This might be called the inductive conception of the church which begins with the particular religious communities or parishes, and thence argues to the central government, rather than coming from the 'universal,' be he king or pope, and radiating downward."

The representation of the laity was also in accord with the spirit of the times, because of its democratic, or, as the men of that day would have preferred to say, its republican character. To White, it was also the restoration of a practice of the primitive Church, lost in the later days of general corruption. He believed that the right of the laity to have a voice in the election of bishops was not denied in the Roman Church until the tenth or eleventh century. Its rejection in England he regarded as "an usurpation of the crown at the Norman conquest, since confirmed by acts of Parliament."

It is possible that Dr. Temple, following the thought of the bishop, exaggerates the difference between the Church of England and the American Episcopal Church in this respect. The basis for lay control over the Church of England was laid at the time of the Reformation, when the king was declared to be its supreme head. In later years the authority of the crown, in this, as in other matters, became, in effect, though not in name, the authority of Parliament. It is true that there is an important theoretical distinction between this descending authority, whatever its origin, and the ascending authority in the American Church, but, in English history, theory usually lags behind practice, being devised, in an empirical spirit of which White should have approved, to explain institutions after they have developed. The authority of Parliament does, in fact, give the laity a voice in Church affairs. Probably it is less satisfactory than the American method, both because it comes at the wrong point in the process, and because the laity involved include persons who are not Church members, but, when managed with the spirit of accommodation and compromise with which the English usually operate their sometimes cumbersome institutions, it works out well enough.

Dr. Temple's fourth chapter deals with White's doctrine of man. Though references to this occur in most of the selections, the two chiefly concerned with it are, "The Analogy of the Understanding and the Will," from an unpublished manuscript, and "Of Philosophic Necessity," from *Comparative Views of the Controversy between the Calvinists and the Arminians*, published in 1817.

White rejected the doctrine of philosophic necessity on the grounds usually taken by the defenders of free will. It contradicted, he said, our

consciousness of choice, precluded any moral appraisal of human conduct, and, if carried to its logical conclusion, corresponded with the pagan idea of fate, to which even the gods were subject. He also laid some stress on the possibility of motiveless actions, such as the advancing of one foot rather than another when we start to move. Paraphrasing the scholastic figment of the donkey starving between two equal pieces of hay, he declared that, without free will, a man placed at an equal distance from two equal sources of gratification would simply stand still. These arguments are a curious mixture of the *a priori* and the pragmatic rather than the truly inductive. They suggest that White's empiricism weakened a bit when he ventured into the field of metaphysics.

His own doctrine of the will did not provide so clear a place for freedom as his critique of necessity would lead one to suppose. In drawing an analogy between the will and the understanding, he was led by his Lockian psychology to see them both as blank tablets, upon which experience was to write, "They are," he said, "alike inoperative, rather they are non-existent, until caused and brought into exercise by objects exterior to the agents." It is true that he used the term "will" in the sense of volition-in-action, and that he allowed for a pre-existent "power of devoting our attention to a certain subject in preference to another," but he was emphatic in his insistence that this latent power had no character of its own until the will of the subject had been formed by experience of the desirability of certain external objects and the undesirability of others. This was true with respect to the simplest appetites, as well as with regard to actions having a moral character.

In what sense can a will thus created by its environment be called free? It may be allowed to have a limited freedom, in that, once it has achieved some degree of development, it can, in any given situation, choose a course of action not prompted by the strongest immediate stimulus, or any immediate stimulus, but dictated by its previously formed disposition. This limited freedom may account for the consciousness of choice, and it may even permit a restricted moral appraisal of an individual's conduct, if we take him as he is, without inquiring how he got that way. It does not, however, exempt the will from the determinate influence of causation, which was the sort of freedom postulated by White in his argument against necessity.

This theory of the will was not an isolated element in his theology. It formed the basis for his interpretation of original sin, which Dr. Temple regards as one of his greatest contributions. Opposing the ideas of inherited guilt, and of a "federal headship," whereby the whole race was supposed to have shared in the sin of Adam as its representative, he

maintained that the punishment for the fall was simply the loss of immortality, which, having been conferred on Adam as a gift, could properly be retracted when he proved unworthy of it. This loss was attended with an incidental decline in the fertility of the earth. As a result of these changes, man was subjected to various ills and necessities that gave rise to temptations which his nature, being of itself neither good nor bad, was unable to resist without God's help.

What help was given, partly, through revelation, showing man the right path and the reward of taking it, and partly, through the grace of the Holy Spirit, acting on his spirit and disposing it towards the good. Without grace, White believed, no one could make any advance towards raising himself from his fallen condition, but the bishop rejected Calvin's idea that grace was thrust upon certain elect persons without any previous merit on their part. Grace, he declared, was free to all, requiring only an act of faith and obedience to make it operative. He did not explain how a man, incapable of doing anything towards his own salvation, could perform this initial act.

The difficulties and inconsistencies of this doctrine of man do not destroy the value of its various elements. The only theologians who have worked out consistent theories of man's relation to God have achieved their results by ignoring important aspects of Christian experience. White's explanation of the fall and its effects was open to less grave moral objections than the idea of inherited guilt, though attributing man's liability to sin to the effect of his divinely created environment can hardly be said to exempt God from responsibility for it. Dr. Temple suggests that, pursuing the empirical method of the bishop, we could, while retaining the other aspects of his theory, reject the idea of the fall as unsupported by evidence now considered acceptable. It may be added that this would have more than the negative advantage of discarding an obsolete belief. If we regard man's moral weakness, and the temptations of his environment, as the result of his and its imperfect development in a process of creation still going on, and to which he is, perhaps, expected to contribute, we do not, of course, solve all the theoretical problems connected with the existence of evil, but we do offer an explanation of it which is less morally obnoxious than that which sees it as the consequence, in any form, of divine wrath at some primordial transgression.

Dr. Temple begins his fifth and final chapter by saying, "William White was a sacramentalist in the fullest meaning of the term." The expression is well chosen. When we say that a person is something in the "fullest meaning of the term," we usually mean that he is not so in the sense in which the term is ordinarily used, and that is true in

the present case. White's views of baptism and the Eucharist, as set forth in this chapter and the related selections, one from the *Comparative Views*, and two from the *Episcopal Magazine*, are sacramental in some degree, but they would hardly be satisfactory to the type of person to whom the word "sacramentalist" is commonly applied.

His doctrine of baptism tended to merge into one the concepts of initiation and regeneration. By a public profession of faith, publicly accepted, in a stipulated ordinance, the baptized person became regenerate, in the eyes of the Church, even if he subsequently proved unworthy, and he also entered a state of grace, in the sense that grace was, by divine covenant, imparted to his spirit, though his deriving any actual benefit therefrom was dependent upon his proper use of the gift. In the case of an adult, this gift would be imparted only if he received the rite in repentance and faith. In the case of an infant, presumed to be sinless, repentance was not required, and the faith of his parents or godparents was accepted in his behalf.

In a letter to Hobart, quoted by Dr. Temple, White wrote: "You see, I am reduced to the necessity of resting the Eucharist on the mere ground of a memorial." He held that this view was sufficient to maintain the dignity and importance of the rite, if there was a due regard to the nature of the event memorialized: The Sacrifice on the Cross. Since grace was involved in the subject commemorated, he believed that it must be imparted in the commemoration. He was unwilling to apply the term "sacrifice" to the Eucharist itself, except in the figurative sense of the Prayer Book phrase, "a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving." He objected to calling the holy table an altar, and he maintained that the word "priest" was employed, in Anglican usage, only as a translation of *presbyteros*, and never in the sense of *iereus* or *sacerdotus*.

It is difficult to make anything more of this than a slightly sacramentalized Zwinglianism. Certainly, White's language on this subject is less sacramental in tone than that of Calvin, who said of Christ's presence in the Eucharist:

"I will not be ashamed to confess that it is too high a mystery either for my mind to comprehend or my words to express; and to speak more plainly, I rather feel than understand it. The truth of God, therefore, in which I can safely rest, I here embrace without controversy. He declares that his flesh is the meat, his blood the drink of my soul; I give my soul to him to be fed with such food. In his sacred Supper he bids me take, eat, and drink his body and blood under the symbols of bread and wine. I have no doubt that he will truly give

and I receive. Only, I regret the absurdities which appear to be unworthy of the heavenly majesty of Christ, and are inconsistent with the reality of his human nature."³

It is, therefore, a trifle harsh of Dr. Temple to attribute White's rejection of the Calvinistic doctrine of grace to the supposed fact that "its basic dualism was especially inimical to his sacramental position." The sacramental theory necessarily involves a certain degree of dualism, for it presupposes the existence of matter and spirit as distinct aspects of reality. To a materialist, the elements of the Lord's Supper can acquire new value in the act of consecration only if a change is wrought in their physical properties. To a consistent idealist, they are, even before consecration, mere projections of mind, either the divine Mind, or the mind of the beholder, and, hence, as spiritual in their essence as the gifts they convey. Sacramentalism, to be sure, cannot admit of so sharp a dualism as would preclude the interaction of spirit and matter, but no such extreme doctrine was presented by Calvin, in his theory of grace, or anywhere else.

Because of the mildness of White's sacramental position, one is also inclined to question Dr. Temple's belief that it represented the principal basis of his opposition to the Evangelicals. He did disagree with them in his doctrine of baptism. Though he recognized that their objection to the use of the word "regeneration" in connection with the sacrament was largely a question of phraseology, he felt that they were too "cautious of acknowledging, concerning infants, that, by the act of baptism, they are put into what is known under the familiar expression of a state of grace."

Nevertheless, it is probable that his chief grounds of discontent with them were disciplinary and psychological. Many of the Evangelicals used extempore prayer at the end of the regular services, and most of them held extra services of a non-liturgical character. Some also shortened the Prayer Book services, so as to allow more time for the sermon. White disapproved of all these practices. The emotionalism of Evangelical preaching disturbed the natural serenity of his mind, and his aristocratic reticence was offended by the public discussion of the spiritual condition of individuals.

Dr. Temple's plan, which is to explain the more distinctive features of White's theology, does not require a discussion of his teaching concerning the Trinity, but, in view of the vagueness of many eighteenth-century divines in regard to this dogma, it may be well to note that the

³John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, tr. by Henry Beveridge (Edinburgh, 1845), vol. III, p. 431.

bishop held an orthodox position. In a sermon delivered at a critical point in Church history, the opening of the General Convention of 1786, he presented the doctrine of the Trinity as the essence of Christian teaching.⁴

Though the author is careful and thorough in his detailed analysis, he is sometimes careless in the phrasing of general statements. In his preface he says that White's theology "follows in the English tradition of the Carolinian Divines," though he has shown clearly that the bishop did not belong to the school usually described by this phrase. He puts the matter more accurately on page 39, where he says, "The Reformation theologians, especially those of the reigns of Edward I (*sic*) and Elizabeth, were his standard authorities, and his decisions agreed with the position of Richard Hooker. Not once, but repeatedly, he claimed to be of the school of Bp. Burnet . . . and of John Tillotson, Archbishop of Canterbury." Burnet began his career during the reign of Charles II, but he was not of the Stuart, or high church party, and came into a position of influence only after the accession of William III, whose chaplain he had been. Tillotson had been accounted a Presbyterian in the days of the Commonwealth, but submitted to the Act of Uniformity in 1662. He was elevated to the see of Canterbury by William, succeeding a displaced non-juror. To these names might be added that of Benjamin Hoadly, the originator of the Bangorian controversy, successively bishop of Bangor, Hereford, Salisbury, and Winchester (1715-1761), of whom White makes frequent and respectful mention. The reviver of Carolinian theology in America was not White, but Hobart.

On page 17 Dr. Temple says, "The Deists, Calvinists, and Quakers had in common an assumption not acceptable to the empirical approach of White. The mind does not have natural moral tendencies, nor yet a direct insight into the divine plan." Of the two distinct propositions here lumped together as one "assumption," the first may have been held by the deists, and the second by the Quakers, but neither was held by the Calvinists.

At present Bishop White's theology is a subject of interest chiefly to historians. In the future, who knows? Yesterday's theology is as dead as yesterday's fashions, but the fashions of day before yesterday sometimes become those of tomorrow. In recent years we have witnessed the acquisition of a remarkable vogue, at least in seminary circles, by the nineteenth-century theologian, Kierkegaard. Perhaps his neo-Calvinism, with its sharp contrasts and bold assertions, meets the

⁴William White, *A Sermon Delivered in Christ Church, Jun. 21 1786, at the Opening of the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the States of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia and South Carolina* (Philadelphia, 1786, repr., 1880), p. 14.

need of this turbulent age, but, should our present revolutionary epoch be succeeded by an era of orderly, democratic progress, the calm, judicious empiricalism of White may acquire a fresh appeal. If that should happen, those wishing to become acquainted with the most important aspects of his thought, without searching through all his writings, will find in Dr. Temple's work a convenient and authoritative guide.

A HISTORY OF ST. PHILIP'S CHURCH NEW YORK CITY*

By Shelton H. Bishop

On Saturday morning, May 1, 1943, the congregation of St. Philip's Church, with their rector, the presiding bishop of the Church, the diocesan, members of the clergy from various parts of the country, distinguished laymen, and persons from all walks of life, filled the church to overflowing, to witness the consecration of the church, and to take part in its 125th anniversary celebration. Today, this congregation numbers 2,900, there are 700 children in the church school, and in normal times property now held by the parish would be valued at close to \$1,000,000. This phenomenal growth of a parish over a period of 125 years is perhaps unparalleled in the history of any similar group in the Episcopal Church.

I. THE CHURCH AND THE NEGRO IN COLONIAL NEW YORK

It was in 1625, or perhaps 1626, that the first Negro slaves were brought into New Amsterdam. But what is far too easily forgotten is the fact that each Negro slave that was brought to America during the four centuries of the African slave trade, was taken from definite and well-established habits of social, political, and religious life. Measured by modern standards of culture, these occupied a prominent place in the cultural pattern. The power of religion was represented by the priest or medicine man, who wielded a power second only to that of the tribal chief, and often superior to it. In some tribes, the African priesthood was even organized, and something like systematic religious institutions emerged. But for four centuries, and this was particularly true of the west coast of Africa, where peaceful kingdoms were overthrown and changed, the slave trade made orderly evolution in political organization or religious belief impossible. This transplantation, then, destroyed every vestige of spontaneous social development. The home deteriorated, political authority and economic initiative became vested

*The first colored parish founded in the diocese of New York. The author of this essay has been rector of the parish since 1933, succeeding his father, the Rev. Dr. Hutchens C. Bishop, in the rectorship.—*Editor's Note.*

in the hands of the masters, property as a social institution ceased to exist on the plantations, and every trace of internal development disappeared, leaving the slaves devoid of any means of social, political, or religious expression.

There were, in the colonies, two distinct schools of thought concerning the problems of slavery. One denied the right of a human being to enslave another, especially when that person was a Christian. The other believed that slavery helped to Christianize the heathen, since it brought him out of the darkness of the African jungle into the true light of the colonial plantations.

At first many of the English planters were very reluctant to allow their bondsmen to receive any form of religious instruction, fearing that this would foment a "Negro uprising," or that conversion to Christianity would result in manumission. Gradually, however, after much persuasion and assurance, such slave owners allowed their slaves to be baptized and to receive instruction in the catechism.

It is extremely difficult within these brief pages to evaluate satisfactorily the courage, wisdom, and foresight that combined to make up the splendid work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. This organization was established in London in 1701, to do missionary work among the heathen, and especially among the Indians and Negroes. At first it confined its ministrations to a few places, New England, New York, New Jersey and Philadelphia. It laid down, as its guiding principle, a denial that any race should be disqualified from having the message of salvation brought to it, because of the color of his skin. "Despicable as they (Negroes) are in the eyes of man they are, nevertheless, the creatures of God." And the Society further placed in the hands of its missionaries and schoolmasters the solemn responsibility of instructing the Indian and Negro slaves, so that they might be prepared for conversion, baptism, and communion. As early as 1705, there were in the colony of South Carolina, 1,000 slaves under instruction, "many of whom could read the Bible distinctly and great numbers of them were engaged in learning the Scriptures."

Anglicans carried on their work for Negroes through the S. P. G., founded in 1701; through the Bray Associates, established especially for Negro education in 1723; and through some of the commissaries of the bishop of London. One well known school was the Charleston Negro School, founded by Commissary Alexander Garden in Charleston, South Carolina, and opened for instruction in 1743. In 1747 the Rev. William Sturgeon began his work as catechist to the Negroes in Philadelphia,

and in 1758 became the head of the school for Negroes established in that city by the Bray Associates.¹

But decades earlier, in 1705, the justly famous Elias Neau had been appointed catechist to the Negroes in New York City. Upon his death in 1722 the work was continued down to the War of Independence by a succession of able clergy. In 1760 the Bray Associates established there a school for Negroes.²

In 1703 Elias Neau, a French merchant of remarkable zeal and piety, called the attention of the Society to the large number of blacks in New York, "who were without God in the world, and of whose souls there was no manner of care taken." After several years of imprisonment in France because of his confession to the Protestant faith, followed by seven years in the "gallies," Mr. Neau settled in New York as a trader. He showed great sympathy for the slaves and proposed to the Society that a catechist be appointed to teach them. When, finally, he was prevailed upon to accept the position himself, he gave up his business, and left the French Church where he had been an elder, in order that he might the better conform to the practices of the established Church of England. "Not upon any worldly account, but through a principle of conscience and hearty approbation of English Liturgy," much of which he had learned by heart in his dungeons. Later when he became known as the "Glorious Professor," many persons felt that his period of training both in prison and in the galleys had deepened his zeal and broadened his sympathy for this great task.

He was granted a license from the governor of New York and he received a sum of fifty pounds annually, "to catechise the Negroes and Indians and children of the town." At first he went from house to house, but finding this too arduous, he gathered the slaves in his own house, and taught them there three days a week. It was not long before he found the upper floor of his house too small to accommodate his 30 pupils. He sought diligently for a church, but could find none. Finally, the Rev. William Vesey, the first rector of Trinity Parish, opened the doors of his church to Elias Neau and his slaves. He taught them on Sundays in the steeple of the church before the sermon, and later led them to his home for further instruction.

In 1706 Mr. Vesey commended Elias Neau to the Society as "a constant communicant of our Church and a most zealous and prudent

¹See Richard I. Shelling, "William Sturgeon, Catechist to the Negroes of Philadelphia," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, Vol. VIII (1939), 388-401.

²See Frank J. Klingberg, "The S. P. G. Program for Negroes in Colonial New York," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, Vol. VIII, 306-371; E. L. Pennington, *Thomas Bray's Associates and Their Work Among the Negroes* (Worcester, Mass., 1939).

servant of Christ in proselyting the miserable Negroes and Indians . . . to the Christian religion whereby he does great service to God and His Church." In 1707 Neau had a class of 100, and by 1710 this number had grown to over 200 catechumens.

The slave owners became exceedingly bitter against Elias Neau and his school, because of a Negro uprising in 1712. So much so that for several days Mr. Neau did not dare to show himself out-of-doors, and the local authorities ordered the school closed. When, however, upon investigation it was found that the slaves who took part in the riot were not connected with the school, and that they had done so because of the wretched conditions under which they lived, the city permitted him to reopen his school. But the seeds of distrust and bitterness had already been sown, and Neau found it necessary to call the attention of the clergy of New York to the "many oppositions" that he met from "the generality of the Inhabitants" who were "strangely prejudiced with a horrid notion thinking that the Christian knowledge would be a mean to make their slaves more cunning and apter to wickedness."

Governor Hunter visited the school in person, and was so impressed with the work that he ordered all of his slaves to attend it. He also issued a proclamation recommending the clergy to urge their congregations to encourage the instruction of their slaves. As was to be expected, this created a most favorable impression. Later, the governor and the council, the mayor, the recorder, and the chief justice, informed the Society that Elias Neau had "performed his work to the great advancement of religion in general and the particular benefit of the free Indians, Negro slaves and other heathens in these parts, with indefatigable zeal and application."

On September 15, 1722, Elias Neau, great humanitarian, friend of Indian and Negro slaves, and pioneer in the field of religious education among Negroes, ended his earthly labors. After Mr. Neau's death William Huddleston was appointed in his place. He was succeeded by the Rev. James Wetmore. In 1726 the Rev. Thomas Colgan was appointed on the representation of the rector, church wardens and vestry of Trinity Church. There were then 1,400 Negro and Indian slaves, "a considerable number of which have been instructed in the principles of Christianity by Mr. Neau . . . and have received baptism and are communicants in the Church."

During the remainder of the Society's stay in the colonies the work was carried on under an ordained missionary. From 1732-1740 the Rev. Richard Charlton baptized 214 person, 24 of whom were adults. And frequently afterwards, total baptisms numbered from 40 to 60 persons. This clergyman who went to Staten Island, after leaving New

York, reported that he found it not only practical but "most convenient to throw into one the classes of his white and black catechumens." The same plan was adopted by the Rev. John Sayre, of Newburgh, who catechised white and black children in each of his four churches.

The Rev. Samuel Auchmuty, who served from 1747-1764, reported an ever increasing desire among the Negroes for instruction, and that "not one single Black admitted by him to the Holy Communion had turned out bad or been in any shape a disgrace to our holy profession." It is also gratifying to learn from Mr. Auchmuty that at this time the masters of the slaves were "much more desirous than they used to be of having them instructed," and as a consequence the number of catechumens increased notably. In contrast to this, however, the Rev. Mr. Barclay found in Albany "a great readiness on the part of the slaves to receive instruction," but that the masters were so "perverted and ignorant that their consent could not be gained by any intreaties." Great care was taken in the preparation of the slaves for baptism. And it is generally agreed that the Christian knowledge of some of them was "such as might have put to shame many persons who possessed far greater advantages."

II. BEGINNINGS OF ST. PHILIP'S PARISH

Like other institutions in the city, Trinity Parish felt the effects of the Revolutionary War. But when hostilities ceased, and the Society was no longer able to carry on its work, the clergy of Trinity Church took up again the task of training the slaves, for slavery continued to exist in New York until the first quarter of the nineteenth century. In 1805, as it might well be imagined, there was to be found in the city a distinct congregation of Negro Episcopalians. And this group, in a very real sense, formed the nucleus and subsequently became the founders of St. Philip's Parish. That same year Trinity Church bought a plot of land to be used as a burial ground for its Negro wards, and stipulated that should a distinct church organization ever be formed, the rights of this burial ground should be transferred to the new Parish.

This ardent group of colored Episcopalians met on Sunday afternoons in Trinity Church until 1810. But they grew in numbers so rapidly that a room had to be found in a building on William Street. They were now under the leadership of one Thomas McCombs. Later the congregation moved to a room over a carpenter's shop on Cliff Street, between Peck Slip and Beekman Street. This room was very poorly furnished, and was lighted by candles fixed in square blocks.

The year 1812 introduces us to a Negro lay reader by the name

of Peter Williams, who was destined to become the first rector of the parish, and one of the first Negroes to be ordained to the priesthood in the Episcopal Church. He was a man of unusual beginnings. His father was for a number of years the sexton of the John Street Methodist Church, and was remarkable for his piety and fidelity. He joined with other Negroes desirous of independent church action in establishing the Zion Church, out of which emerged the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Peter Williams, the son, however, became an Episcopalian, was educated for the ministry, and served as rector of St. Philip's Church until 1840. In this position he distinguished himself as a man of great usefulness and influence, touching the life of his people whenever the opportunity presented itself. We see the children gathered around him for an hour every Sunday morning before the service. And we could hear him instruct them in the catechism. Bishop Payne, who came in contact with him in 1835, found him well educated, hospitable and generous. And, said Bishop Payne, "he loved to see talented young men educating themselves and substantially aided more than one in his efforts."

Perhaps it would not be out of place to note here that this movement in support of public worship that we have been considering was being carried on at a time when the city was in the throes of an economic depression, occasioned in part by the uncertain relations of the United States with foreign powers; but chiefly because the War of 1812 had practically paralyzed the commerce of the city of New York. There are those of us who want to suggest here that seasons of public distress may often prove the abundant harvest of religious zeal.

Our congregation again outgrew its quarters and was forced to move to a building on the north side of Rose Street, near Pearl. They finally welded themselves into an effective church body, but continued to worship without parochial organization, and with such facilities as their limited means could secure until 1818, when they formally organized St. Philip's Parish in accordance with the doctrine and discipline of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

Again we must pause to observe that in the year 1818 there were in the whole state of New York, only about 40 parishes. In the city itself there were but nine parishes and two chapels. St. Philip's formed the tenth parish.

It is to be recognized that throughout their shifting from place to place this zealous band of Christians had as their prime objective the securing of a suitable place in which to worship. Imagine their joy, therefore, when George Lorillard, the tobacconist, came forward and offered to lease them a piece of land on Collect Street, now Centre Street,

for a period of 60 years, at an annual rental of \$250. This property was placed in the hands of trustees "with the intent that a church or place of worship of Almighty God, according to the rites and discipline of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of New York, and for the education in piety and useful learning of the children and descendants of the present members . . . and of such other persons as may hereafter be admitted and become members thereof, shall be thereupon built, erected, maintained, and established forever."

These happy people were now in possession of the land. The next step was to build a church. Again they received valuable and timely aid. Trinity Parish gave them a donation. And one Jacob Sherred, by his will, left \$2,500 to aid in the work of the parish. Of this historic event the *Christian Journal* of August, 1818, writes that "the cornerstone was laid on the 6th of August, 1818." It was a wooden structure; and the women of the congregation furnished the pulpit hangings and the communion plate.

This church, situated on Collect Street, was consecrated by Bishop Hobart on July 3, 1819. And in his report to the annual convention in October of the same year, he said: ". . . I consecrated the new church of St. Philip's . . . in which their own mechanics principally were employed, and which they have finished with judgment and haste. I have since officiated in that church to a congregation of colored people who were remarkably orderly and devout in the performance of the service." Thus obscurely was born, officially at least, the parish that has just rounded out 125 years of eventful history.

Peter Williams, whom we met earlier as a lay reader, was ordained to the diaconate by Bishop Hobart in St. Philip's Church on October 20, 1820. This was no ordinary event. It was a joyous occasion for the members of the Church, but it also produced a profound impression upon the general public. The *Commercial Advertiser* commenting on this the following day said, "Yesterday morning Mr. Peter Williams, junior, was admitted to the Holy Order of Deacons in St. Philip's Church by the Rt. Rev. Bishop Hobart. The new deacon is a person of color who, being possessed of good natural parts, has much improved his intellectual faculties by intense study and application, and has written several little tracts which abundantly show that with God there is no respect of persons." On July 10, 1826, Peter Williams was advanced to the priesthood and became the first rector of the Church.

The work of the new parish went ahead with great success, but it was not long before the congregation was called upon to face a severe test. For on the evening of December 18, 1821, while they were busily and joyfully making Christmas decorations for their new church, a de-

fective flue started a fire that in a short time reduced the entire building to ashes. This was a severe blow! Fortunately, however, the church was covered by insurance. The congregation redoubled its efforts, and on December 31, 1822. Bishop Hobart consecrated the new church, "similar in size, and in the general plan and appearance of the interior (and) characterized by simplicity, good taste, and economy." That Christian zeal and energy which was later to become so characteristic a part of the people of St. Philip's Church, began to manifest itself. They bought an organ; and on May 7, 1826, Peter Williams presented 115 persons to Bishop Hobart for confirmation.

In 1845 there was probably no more challenging question in America than the problem of individual liberty. The doctrines of the French Revolution had made their impress upon the minds of the people. And the fruits of the American Revolution were still ripe within their group. The people of St. Philip's Church stirred by these new doctrines, applied for admission to the diocesan convention and were promptly refused. The following year, 1846, the parish again made its application. The delegates presented their credentials to the convention, and a committee of three persons was appointed to consider the application. The majority of two which voted against admission took the stand that when, in 1826, the Rev. Peter Williams was ordained, it was understood that the Church should have no representation in the convention, and that the present application was nothing more than a "breach of faith."

Undaunted, the delegates to the convention the following year presented their answer to the breach of faith charge in the form of a written report. But even this failed to gain them admission; and they were forced to engage in a seven years' struggle to secure parochial recognition. In the words of John Jay, ". . . I never represented any parish with greater pride or more sincere pleasure than I felt . . . in answering to the roll call of St. Philip's, and in remembering the long battles that had been fought so many years to secure her representation in Diocesan Councils." Finally, in 1853, St. Philip's Church gained an overwhelming majority of the votes and was admitted to the convention of the diocese of New York.

By 1856 New York began to experience significant changes in the distribution of population, and it was felt that the Church was too far downtown for the convenience of the majority of its members. It was decided, therefore, to sell the church on Centre Street and purchase a larger and better building on Mulberry Street near Bleecker. The congregation held its last service in its old church with many regrets, for during a period of thirty-five years it had become warmly attached to it.

As Bishop Onderdonk so beautifully put it in his sermon, "The Change at the Resurrection," the Rev. Peter Williams retired as usual to his rest on the evening of October 18, 1840, but before the morning he awoke, "not to the light of this world, but to the glorious splendor of paradise." The parish mourned the passing of a pastor, teacher, and friend. After his death, and until 1881, several ministers took charge of the parish for varying periods of time. Two of them, however, the Rev. William Alston, 1860-1862, and the Rev. Joseph Atwell, 1872-1874, served as rectors.

The draft riots that precipitated the well remembered reign of terror in New York City from July to September, 1863, are dark and bloody episodes in the history of New York. The presence of troops in the city called in to suppress the rioting, heightened the tension and gave impetus to the already smoldering ill-will against Negroes. The Negro Orphan Asylum was pillaged and destroyed. Nor was it even safe for Negroes to leave their homes. The church was closed for worship, and the sacred edifice was used as a barracks for the quartering of troops. Those of us who struggle for democratic liberty today can well appreciate how intimately the history of St. Philip's Church is tied up with the struggle for human freedom. When the day of rioting was over it was found that the interior of the church was so badly damaged that it could not be used until it was thoroughly renovated. This was done at a cost of \$2,468.47. After much delay the national government paid \$333.33 as rental, while the city of New York gave \$1,100 for damages done to the property. This left a loss to the parish of more than \$1,000.

III. RECTORSHIP OF THE REV. HUTCHENS C. BISHOP

The work of the Rev. Mr. Atwell was cut short by his sudden death on October 8, 1881, and on January 1, 1886, the Rev. Hutchens Chew Bishop was chosen rector. He came from St. Mark's Church, Charleston, South Carolina, where he had been rector for two years.

It was shortly after he became rector that the same influence that conspired to cause the congregation to move from Mulberry Street again operated to force them to seek another church on Twenty-fifth Street. The people began to move away either to make room for immigrant groups or their property was being absorbed by the rapidly advancing wave of new business enterprises. The opening service was held in the new church on June 21, 1886. This was the fourth church in which this congregation had worshipped, and at least their sixth meeting place since they left Trinity Church in 1818.

Many members of St. Philip's Parish today still recall with tender memories "the old days on Twenty-fifth Street." The Church drew some of the most outstanding persons of the race to its membership. In 1896 a parish house and rectory were built at 127 West 30th Street, five blocks away from the church. It was here that the young men's guild, the St. Christopher club, and the St. Agnes' club, organizations that played a vital part in the growth and development of the parish, were born.

In 1906 the population of New York city again began to show signs of northward migration. This time it was destined to create Harlem, the greatest Negro community in the world. With an almost uncanny business and administration foresight, Dr. Bishop began, in 1908, to purchase property on West 133rd and 134th Streets. And in 1910 he proceeded to build the present church and parish house. A proud but humble congregation held its final services in its Twenty-fifth Street church in October, 1910. And from that time until March 25, 1911, all services of worship were held in the gymnasium of the present parish house.

On the feast of the Annunciation, March 25, 1911, the present church was dedicated. Tandy and Foster, Negro architects, designed both the church and the parish house. Vertner C. Tandy is still living today, and he designed the changes that were made in the church for the 125th anniversary celebration.

During the past sixty years the history of St. Philip's Parish is properly the story of a church builder, a great administrator of the largest parish for colored people in the country, a renowned leader and adviser of the clergy, an outstanding citizen of his community, pastor, priest, and friend of influential and lowly alike. Hutchens Chew Bishop was born in the city of Baltimore, Maryland, on October 26, 1858. Even in those days there was a well-established chapel for colored people in that city. The Bishop family became active members of the Chapel of St. Mary in the parish of Mt. Calvary. Young Bishop sang in the choir and served as an acolyte. Very early he attracted the attention of the rector, the Rev. Calbraith B. Perry, who became his mentor, life-long friend, and spiritual guide. Under the influence and tutorship of Mr. Perry, he prepared himself to enter the General Theological Seminary of New York in 1878.

The young man's devotion to "high-church" worship was to play a rather eventful part in his life after his graduation from the seminary in 1881. This was the era when the Oxford Movement, led by Newman in England, precipitated such bitter controversies in the Anglican Church, both in England and America. The postulant could

not be ordained in his native city of Baltimore. He was forced to establish residence in Albany, New York, where, under a bishop sympathetic to his convictions, he could be admitted into the sacred ministry of the Church. He was ordained to the diaconate in 1882 by the Rt. Rev. William Croswell Doane. After a year of service in the cathedral at Albany he was advanced to the priesthood on May 24, 1883. He was now free to return to Baltimore as an assistant priest in the Chapel of St. Mary.

When on January 1, 1886, Dr. Bishop accepted the invitation to become the rector of St. Philip's Parish, he undertook a task that was to challenge his ability, wisdom and leadership for fifty years.

Hutchens Chew Bishop was an administrative genius, but he was also priest, shepherd of his flock, and beloved leader of his community. As Harlem grew by leaps and bounds, and its social and economic problems became increasingly numerous and acute, the rector of St. Philip's reached out and grappled with some of the problems of the community. And for many years the parish house became a veritable centre of social activity.

The economic depression, the greatest that this country has ever faced, laid its sordid hands upon St. Philip's. Naturally, Negroes, upon whom economic disasters always fall most heavily, were the hardest hit. Contributions fell off, because the people of the parish had little to give. In fact, like other institutions in the city, the parish was forced to organize a social center to help to alleviate the sufferings not only of its own members, but of the people of the community.

On April 1, 1933, Dr. Bishop retired and became rector emeritus of the parish; and his son, the Rev. Shelton Hale Bishop, succeeded him. Four years later, May 17, 1937, members of St. Philip's as well as those countless others who had learned to love Dr. Bishop as shepherd and friend, paused to mourn his passing into a richer, fuller and nobler life.

IV. RECTORSHIP OF THE REV. SHELTON H. BISHOP

The Rev. Shelton Hale Bishop became the fifth rector of St. Philip's Parish in the blackest days of its history. The parish, as we have seen, has been forced to shift from place to place, it has experienced numerous changes, and it has grown far beyond the dreams of its most enthusiastic founders. But perhaps the greatest transformation that it has undergone is that bond of spiritual unity which today unites all of its members into one happy family.

In 1933, at the height of the depression, it became evident to even the most optimistic members of St. Philip's Parish that their beloved church could not long keep its doors open. Every known avenue was explored with the hope of staving off the impending disaster. Finally, both people and vestry agreed that within their knowledge there was but one man that could lead them out of the economic chaos and spiritual despondency into which their parish had fallen. The new rector instituted a program of retrenchment immediately. Prior to this, funds to carry on the work of the parish came almost entirely from property investments. Now there was no income, for real estate values had sunk to their lowest level. No more difficult or unpopular task ever faced any man. The budget of the Church had to be cut almost overnight from more than \$50,000 to \$15,000. The people of the parish had to be taught the meaning of "giving" and "sacrifice." Those were dark and anxious days. Few persons believed that the parish could ever recover. "Better to scrap the whole thing and begin all over again" were the words of many a faithful follower. But through it all one man refused to lose hope. With confidence always in God, he saw such a spiritual rebirth in the lives of his parishioners; and such an upsurging of spirit that no obstacle, no matter how great, could ever block their road to progress.

Shelton Hale Bishop was born on February 26, 1889. He received all of his academic training in New York. He graduated from Columbia College in 1911, and that same year he entered the General Theological Seminary to prepare himself for the ministry. On Trinity Sunday, June 7, 1914, he was ordained deacon in the Cathedral of St. John the Divine. He was advanced to the priesthood on July 4, 1915. After serving as curate in St. Thomas' Church, Chicago, 1914-15, as priest-in-charge of St. Augustine's Mission, Pittsburgh, 1915-16, and as rector of the Church of the Holy Cross, Pittsburgh, 1916-23, he became senior curate at St. Philip's in 1923.

In 1926 Mr. Bishop received his master's degree in religious education from Teachers College, Columbia University. He has also done graduate work at both the University of Chicago and the University of Pittsburgh, and he spent the past year in residence and study at the Yale Divinity School.

In a sense the Sunday school of St. Philip's Parish is as old as the parish itself. We may even say that it antedates the parish, for as early as 1697, we find a group of Negroes interested in finding a church where they might send their children to learn the rudiments of religion. And when St. Philip's was formally organized in 1818 we saw with what

care Peter Williams gathered the children around him to instruct them. The journal of the 47th convention of the diocese in 1832 tells us that there were "about 170 Sunday school scholars" in the parish at that time. By 1895 the Sunday school in the Twenty-first Street church was not only well organized, but it began to touch the daily lives of the children through a series of clubs. There were then sixteen classes and more than 200 pupils. When on March 25, 1911, the people of St. Philip's Parish dedicated their new church on West 134th Street, there was an adult membership of 800 persons; and 250 children were enrolled in the Sunday school. Within the next few years the number had grown to nearly 1,000 pupils.

Under the leadership of the Rev. Shelton Hale Bishop, in 1923 church school and religious education took the place of the traditional Sunday school. But the term religious education was entirely new in Church parlance. The director of religious education brought with him from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, new concepts and ideas that not only revolutionized the Sunday school, but made it the envy and admiration of church schools throughout the city and its environs. Directors of religious education and their teachers traveled long distances to study the methods of St. Philip's Church school.

The task was not an easy one. Parents and teachers had to be trained. Children had to be graded according to their age and educational background. Curriculum material had to meet the needs of the growing child. And while the best use was being made of material approved by the national board of religious education, St. Philip's Church was experimenting with other materials and with other ideas in an effort to find the ones best suited to meet its needs. Out of this experimentation grew a course of study written by Miss Rae Olley, one of the supervisors of the primary department, a copy of which was placed on exhibition at the national conference of religious workers held in St. Louis, Missouri.

Religious education in the parish today is built upon the structure so carefully laid down twenty years ago. There are at present 700 pupils in the church school. In a world in which there are so many problems of vital importance, and in an age in which so much of human living verges upon moral bankruptcy, St. Philip's Church school attempts to teach its pupils to live useful and wholesome lives. They try to approach these problems through a study of the world in which they live, and the Christian approach to the problems of society.

V. SOCIAL ACTIVITIES

There is no more fascinating chapter in the long history of St. Philip's Parish than the one which relates the story of its adventure into the field of social activities. As early as 1875 the parish saw the need of a home for its aged women, and acquired a little frame house at 127 West 30th Street. In 1895 it secured larger quarters at 1119 Boston Road, the Bronx, New York, and with these increased facilities it began to open its doors to women of other denominations. But throughout its history, the institution has always considered itself essentially a project of the parish. However, it is a completely autonomous organization, and depends upon voluntary contributions for its support. There is but one stipulation. The rector of the parish is chairman of the board of managers, and all of the members of the board must be communicants of the Church. Women who enter the home must be at least 65 years of age, and in good health. Usually they are the recipients of old age assistance who are unable to keep house for themselves, but who require the care and attention that the home offers. The St. Philip's Parish Home is now located at 211 West 133th Street, next door to the parish house. It is a modern, three-story brick building, capable of accommodating thirteen residents and a matron.

St. Philip's began quite early, too, to manifest a concern in the social activities of the adolescent boys of the parish and of the community. The parish register for November 1, 1895, tells us that a "St. Christopher Club has been organized for the purpose of attracting boys between the ages of twelve and sixteen, and holding them under the influence of the Church. . . . The meetings are to be made instructive and entertaining, and thus we hope to throw the mantle of protection around our boys and save them from the many enticements to wrong-doing which surround them"

These laudable objectives mark the beginnings of a club that was soon to take on unheard of proportions, and to achieve national fame. By 1900 and continuing through 1930 the St. Christopher club rose to unprecedented heights in the field of athletics. In 1908 it gave birth to the first Negro basketball team in the country. And it had the proud distinction of having the most outstanding basketball team in the United States. Besides basketball, the St. Christopher club has had outstanding track teams. It was the first Negro club to foster amateur boxing, and so proficient was its team that it sent one of its boxers to Europe as a member of the American Olympian boxing team. But the club did not confine its activities to the field of sports. It organized glee clubs and sponsored amateur dramatics. Today an imposing list

of Negro citizens recount with pride their experiences and performances as members of the St. Christopher club. In fact, many of the men who now occupy outstanding positions of leadership in the community had their beginnings in the St. Christopher club.

In 1935 St. Philip's organized its first troop of girl scouts. Within a comparatively short time Troop 155 had created so much interest and enthusiasm that other troops had to be organized in Harlem. In 1928 the parish offered its spacious and well equipped parish house to a troop of boy scouts. Besides these facilities St. Philip's owned Camp Guilford Bower at New Paltz, New York, a three hundred acre farm of rolling country, lying along the Walkill River. Rich in lore, and famous for its natural beauty, this camp was especially suitable for scouting. In 1929 the troop camped here, built Indian villages, gave pageants, conducted classes in arts and crafts, and practiced scouting under the most ideal natural surroundings. By 1930 scouting had grown from a small troop of 90 boys to 4 troops, numbering 300 boys.

Prior to 1925 St. Philip's Parish, like other institutions in the country, and in fact throughout the world, offered to its young people no active part in any of the essential activities of the Church. Young people were considered too immature to have any voice in the affairs of the parish. Very little was said about them, and with the exception of the Sunday school and the St. Christopher club, very little was expected of them. But at least two factors were operating in the parish and in the world at large to bring about a change of emphasis upon the status of youth, the demand on the part of youth itself for recognition, and the whole vortex of puzzling problems that the era precipitated. When, therefore, the present rector, then director of religious education, came to St. Philip's in 1923, he found a rich and fertile field ready to be sown with many of the thoughts and ideas that he had struggled with for a number of years.

The young people's fellowship gave the first tangible evidence of what was passing through the minds of both the director and the young people of the parish. And it was not long before "Fellowship" began to take on special significance. The young people's fellowship tried to interpret religion in terms of genuine love, greater helpfulness, deeper concern for others, and it set about to weld together groups of young people, and sometimes older people, too, of varying personalities, into happy and congenial relationships. And most interesting of all, some of these young people had heretofore taken no part in the activity of the parish. Through inquiry and through a system of intellectual give and take, the fellowship sought to bring into focus the greatness of human personality.

Composed of young men and women of high school and college age, this organization met in the parish house each Sunday afternoon, and under the skillful guidance of competent authorities in various fields, they grappled with some of the searching problems of the day, and tried to find solutions for the questions that baffled them. Here, for the first time, many a young person came face to face with some of the challenging problems of society. They had other interests, too. Interracial parties made for social intercourse and paved the way for better understanding. There were teas, garden parties, "Follies." The group also sponsored Thanksgiving and Christmas programs, and helped in the fight against tuberculosis. Today the young people of the parish try to interpret the economic, social and religious problems that confront our society. They have regular corporate communions. They hold open house. They conduct forums, where they look at the present crisis, discuss race relations, examine the nature of Christian family life, and explore the problems of a just and lasting peace.

We have been attempting to sketch rather haphazardly a few of the many areas that St. Philip's developed in the field of social activities. By 1906 the parish had become interested in adequate living conditions not only for its members, but for the Negro people of Harlem, and it acquired property for that purpose from time to time. For many years it supplied Christmas and Thanksgiving baskets to the needy members of the parish. Because of the number of young people who were attached to the church school, together with a growing adolescent population in the community, St. Philip's set about to organize a series of wholesome recreational activities. As a matter of fact, it is quite obvious that the parish house was built with the idea that social activity is an essential part of parish life.

In 1924 the rector and the vestry created a department of social work in the parish. But because no distinct patterns of church social work had as yet evolved, St. Philip's was forced to join the ranks of those churches that were doing pioneer social work and secured the services of a trained social worker. The program that was put into operation emphasized clubs for younger children, recreational activities for boys and girls, as well as for young people in high school, college, and even beyond the college years. There were planning committees, individual counselling in school problems for elementary and high school pupils, as well as for college students. This was very much like the

educational guidance that is being done in the schools at the present time. However, to this program was added personal counselling aimed at helping young people to work out adjustments to family life, adjustments to marriage, and the development of leadership potentialities. By this time it had become the definite philosophy of St. Philip's that the young people of the Church were its potential leaders, and that it was the duty of the parish not only to plan opportunities for Church leadership, but to see to it that these young people were helped to find their place in the community. Today, as we encounter these young people in the various social agencies of the city and the community we appreciate the wisdom of this far-sighted philosophy. The year 1928 found parents of the parish deeply engrossed in the problems of childhood and adolescence. Child study groups were formed and the women raised money to buy books for their own library. After more than sixteen years one of these groups is still active in the parish.

The economic depression offered a special challenge to social work in St. Philip's Parish. Relief problems were complicated by delinquency, marital maladjustments, broken homes, health problems, and a score of other problems that demanded the utmost skill, insight, and tact. One of the lessons that the depression taught leaders of social work was the transference of relief cases to agencies more fully equipped and qualified to handle them. Coupled with other problems, this factor has operated to change the nature of social work in St. Philip's since 1933. In the spring of 1940 a branch of social service work was started under the auspices of the parish service guild, to provide clothing and miscellaneous articles of furniture to needy persons. This organization has distributed to date over 800 pieces of men's clothing, 2,600 articles of women's apparel, 800 pieces of children's clothing, together with numerous pieces of furniture, lamps, sheets, blankets, etc.

In May, 1943, the government of the United States brought into this country several groups of agricultural workers from the British West Indies, principally from Jamaica and Barbadoes. These men, ranging in age from 18 to 30, lived in government-built camps, one of which was located at Bridgeton, New Jersey. On May 20 an urgent call came from the Church Missions House, asking St. Philip's Parish to suggest a priest who would minister to these men, ninety-five per cent of whom were members of the Church of England. Without much delay and with one accord, the clergy of the parish saw in this offer a blessed opportunity not only to extend the work of the parish, but to

engage in a unique program of social work, and to extend immeasurably, perhaps, the boundaries of Christ's Kingdom among men. In the name of the parish, therefore, the clergy volunteered to take turns in giving these men pastoral care from June 1 to September 15.

The work of one of the clergy, the Rev. Randolph O. C. King, himself born in the West Indies, was so effective, both in the spiritual aspects and in its social contacts, that he was urged to return this year. During the summer Mr. King ministered to 1,000 Jamaicans, traveling daily from camp to camp, covering a distance of more than 60 miles. He attended the sick, buried the dead, administered the Blessed Sacrament in cabins and hospitals, formed camp councils, helped to settle labor disputes, served as captain of their cricket team, worked in the fields alongside the men, and in numerous other ways, "kept the morale of the men alive." This glorious opportunity of living in camps with the men, working with them in the fields, sharing their problems and counselling them, mobilizing community agencies to help men who were strangers to our country and our ways, could never adequately be told in words.

In the back of his car Father King carried the "Church," a plain cross, two candlesticks, two empty milk bottles to be used as vases, and a white sheet to act as altar cloth. He would gather flowers on the way as he drove from camp to camp. Sometimes two empty milk boxes, or two wooden tables placed end to end served as an altar. Here eager men at the Bread of Life and were refreshed. And here, we believe, they felt the loving hands of the Church as they could never have felt it in the security of their well-lighted church with its cushioned seats, freshly-robed choir, and beautiful organ music.

A most awful thing happened in the public school almost next door to the parish house in May, 1944. A little nine-year-old girl was stabbed by one of her classmates. We wish that we could set down *verbatim* the rector's account of what happened in St. Philip's Parish after this tragic incident. First of all, as he puts it, "my daughter was ready for me." She said: "You've got that parish house and that large auditorium . . . and they are going to stay vacant all summer. . . . You are going to have a wonderful vacation. And the children are going to be on the streets." Such a challenge would set any man thinking.

Securing workers and money was no easy task. It was estimated that the project would cost \$2,500 for ten weeks. Twenty-five professional recreational workers, one of them a Ph. D., were soon found. Some money, too, was forthcoming. When twenty-one youngsters between the ages of 8 and 12 were called in and asked what sort of program

they wanted, it was discovered that they had clear-cut and specific ideas of just what they wanted and how it should be worked out. Thus was born, in St. Philip's parish house, on the evening of July 5, 1944, "The Fun Center," a project to harness the activities of children in the square block in which the church and parish house are situated, and to provide them with a wholesome place in which to play from 6:30 to 10:30 each evening, under expert and sympathetic supervision.

The children ranged in ages from 8 to 17 years. They were divided into three age-groups, and were given membership cards for the asking. Activities included basketball, volley ball, badminton, boxing, relay races. There were quiet games such as checkers, lotto, dominoes, chinese checkers. There were handicrafts of all kinds, clay modelling, painting, drawing. There was dancing, sewing groups, and classes in fancy cake and cookie making. The teen-age canteen on Friday nights from nine to eleven was most interesting. It took in young people between the ages of 14 and 17, who are the very center of the juvenile delinquency problem.

Night after night the streets were clear of children. On the first night there were 136 of them. The average nightly attendance was 185. It is impossible to tell the whole story. One little youngster, only nine year old, brought his lunch, and asked to be allowed to dust the church. He spent the day at it. One child suggested that there ought to be prayers in the church sometimes. And so for three or four nights a week the rector, who was on hand every evening of the week from 6:30 to 10:30, assembled a group of from 12 to 35 boys and girls, and together they knelt down at the altar, read short passages of Scripture, and offered short prayers. Sometimes there was organ music and they sang hymns.

VI. 125TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION

On May 1, 1943, the Feast of St. Philip the Apostle, patron saint of the church, the parish celebrated its 125 years of faithful history. There was much jubilation. The celebration lasted for more than a week. Never in the history of any church in Harlem was there ever seen such a brilliant spectacle. Never had so many dignitaries of the Church, and such distinguished laymen assembled at one time in one church. The bishop of the diocese consecrated the church, and the presiding bishop preached the sermon. A choir of fifty voices sang the *Missa Brevis* of Palestrina, reinforced by string quartet, trumpets, tympani, and cymbals.

Even our sketchy history must reveal that these have been brilliant and productive years, for which the people of St. Philip's Parish must justly be proud. But they would neither be true to themselves nor would they keep faith with that noble band of men and women who struggled to found the parish, if they are content to rest on their laurels. Many are the problems that lie ahead of them. In fact, it is not too much to say that the way may even be dark and sometimes even be bitter. We hear much these days about "winning the peace of the world," but little about winning the social, economic, and religious peace of America. Much about freedom and democracy for the nations of the world, but little about social and economic justice for the Negroes of America. Throughout its history St. Philip's has always shown a just concern for these problems. Soon it must do more than discuss them. For like the rector's daughter, many of our young men fresh from the battlefields of the world, where they fought for freedom and democracy, will demand equality of opportunity. They will demand that St. Philip's open wide its doors, take an active part in the struggle, and fight against racial bigotry, social injustice, and economic insecurity.

THE CHURCH IN ARKANSAS AND ITS BISHOPS

1835-1946

By E. Clowes Chorley

During the year of our Lord, 1946, the Diocese of Arkansas fittingly celebrated the 75th year of its organization. It has had a checkered history which can only be outlined in this article. The main sources are found in *The Spirit of Missions*, the manuscript *Journals of Bishop Lay and Bishop Pierce*, *The Journals of the General Convention*, the *Annals of Christ Church*, Little Rock, the addresses of the present bishop, Richard Bland Mitchell, and Mr. W. Henry Roberts, historiographer of the diocese, and the *Arkansas Churchman*, together with some important articles in the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. These sources are supplemented by some editorial notes.

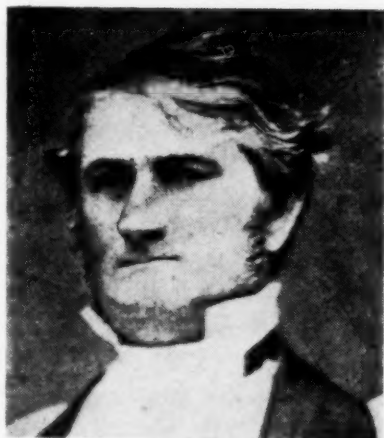
In 1835 the Church created two vast missionary districts—the Southwest and the Northwest, and elected our first missionary bishops to care for them. At the General Convention of that year the House of Bishops nominated the Rev. Francis L. Hawks, D. D., rector of St. Thomas' Church, in the city of New York, to exercise episcopal functions in the State of Louisiana, and in the Territories of Arkansas and Florida, the nomination being confirmed by the House of Deputies. Dr. Hawks, who was present at the convention, expressed "his willingness to accept of the appointment, provided provisions were made to his satisfaction for the support of his family." Later, to his great regret, he was compelled to decline his election.¹

Arkansas was admitted as a slave state in 1836. It was noted that prior to 1838 "it had never enjoyed the services of a single clergyman of our Church," but the *Spirit of Missions* of that year stated that

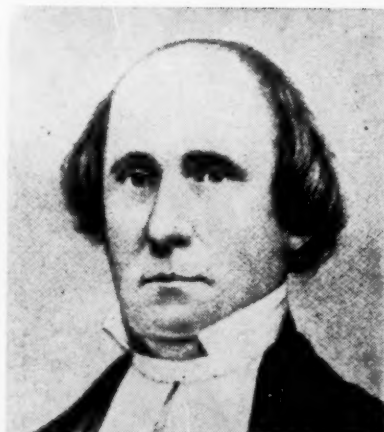
"At Little Rock a very strong desire on the part of many of its leading citizens has been expressed to have at once an able and efficient minister of the Church stationed there and at several other places a desire has been expressed for ministers of this Church."

¹W. H. Stowe. *Why Dr. Francis Lister Hawks Declined His Election as First Missionary Bishop of the Southwest*. HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, March, 1940, pp. 90-92.

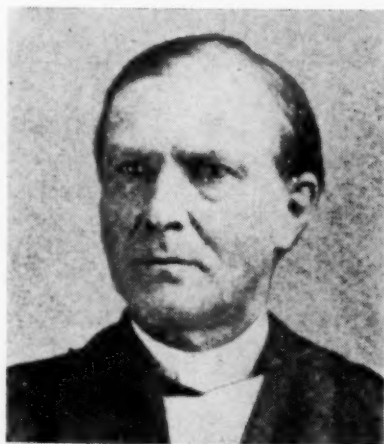
ARKANSAS BISHOPS



LEONIDAS POLK
(1838-1841)



GEORGE WASHINGTON FREEMAN
(1844-1858)



HENRY CHAMPLIN LAY
(1859-1869)



HENRY NILES PIERCE
(1870-1899)

Whereupon, the Domestic Committee of the Board of Missions planned, if possible, "to maintain five able missionaries in Arkansas for the three succeeding years."²

LEONIDAS POLK³

1838-1841

At the General Convention of 1838 Leonidas Polk was elected Missionary Bishop of Arkansas and the Indian Territory, with provisional charge of Alabama, Mississippi and the republic of Texas, and was consecrated on December 9, 1838. A former cadet of the West Point Military Academy, where he was converted, he was born April 10, 1806, at Raleigh, North Carolina, and was ordered deacon April 11, 1830, by Bishop R. C. Moore, of Virginia, and priested by the same bishop on May 22, 1833.

FIRST VISITATION

On February 14, 1839, he started on his first visitation of his vast district, going by way of Alabama and Mississippi. His experiences are outlined in his report to the General Convention of 1841.⁴

In March he arrived at Helena, and reported that

"The town itself contains about four or five hundred inhabitants, very destitute of religious privileges; periodical visits of a Methodist Circuit Elder at long intervals, and the occasional services of a Cumberland Presbyterian preacher, comprising all their opportunities of religious instruction."

He notes that "he preached twice to a small congregation at the house of a private individual," but that no missionary had as yet been found to fill this station.

Proceeding by way of the Arkansas River, he arrived at Little Rock after touching at the Port of Arkansas, largely a French settlement, and Pine Bluff, at both places, finding a few Church families. At Little Rock, which had a population of 2,500, he preached "more or less every day." He said:

²*Spirit of Missions*, 1838, Vol. III, pp. 345-346.

³Cf. *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, *Polk Centennial Number*, December 1, 1938, pp. 324ff.

Also, W. H. Stowe, *Polk's Missionary Episcopate*, *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, December, 1938, pp. 341ff.

⁴*Journal of General Convention*, 1841, pp. 157ff.

"There are, as I learned, between 20 and 25 Families avowedly attached to the Church, besides others who being well disposed toward our forms of worship would gladly avail themselves of the services. Among these families are to be found a strong Church attachment and as devout piety as I have met with at any time." They earnestly desired to have a missionary and stood ready to pledge \$1,000 for his stipend.

From Little Rock he proceeded by stage to the southwestern parts of the State, where the settlers were chiefly from the Carolinas and Virginia. He preached in Washington, "where none present were acquainted with the Prayer Book," and at Spring Hill, where he had "respectable congregations."

It is recorded that during his five days' stay at Little Rock

"the bishop held a service in the Presbyterian Church on Main Street, near the corner of Cherry (now Second), and as there was no vesting room, the bishop robed at the residence of his host, Mr. Causins, on the corner of Main and Mulberry (Third Street), and walked along the square in his official vestments to the church. This occasioned open-mouthed speculation on the part of the uninitiated villagers, and may have helped to collect the bishop's first audience.⁵

It is also noted that "He afterwards gathered together the little band of Episcopalians and organized a parish with the following gentlemen as wardens and vestrymen: John H. Crease, Senior Warden; Luke E. Barber, Junior Warden; Lambert Reardon, Charles Rapley, John Hutt, J. P. Norman, John Adamson, Lambert J. Reardon, F. W. Trapnall, D. Butler, John Wassell, William Prather.

"The bishop selected the site for the Church building on the southeast corner of Orange (Fifth) and Scott Streets, and donated \$900 for the purchase of the lots from Thomas W. Newton and wife." The deed was made out to John Wassell and Abner S. Washburn, wardens of Christ Church. For a consideration of \$900 each, lots 2, 3 and 4, block 29, were conveyed.

The bishop then visited the missionary station at Pine Bluff. He preached at Fayetteville and confirmed eight persons.

It is important to recall the fact that on this journey Polk visited the Indian Territory, which was included in his jurisdiction. It was the first episcopal visitation of that area. He officiated at Fort Gibson, Fort Towson, and Dockville, the principal village of the Choctaw nation. He records a conversation with certain Cherokee chiefs and

⁵Annals of Christ Church Parish, p. 14.

preached in one of their houses; he also visited Mr. John Ross, the principal chief.⁶ So far as records are available these appear to have been the first services of the Episcopal Church in Arkansas.

In his first visitation Bishop Polk paved the way to the permanent establishment of the Church in Arkansas. The Board of Missions recognized the following missionary stations in Arkansas: Pine Bluff, Fayetteville, Batesville, Washington, Port of Arkansas, and Fort Gibson, in the Indian Territory.

In 1839 the Rev. William Mitchell⁷ was transferred from Indiana and appointed to Pine Bluff, where he describes himself as "alone in the State." He has the distinction of being the first settled missionary of the Episcopal Church in Arkansas. He was received with great kindness by the people, and reported that a lot of ground was given for a church. In addition to his work at Pine Bluff he explored the country for forty miles round ministering to a number of scattered families of the Church. Later, he reported 5 communicants and added:

"At the first administration of the Communion there were 5 to receive it; two of whom, formerly from Maryland, wept for joy that they were once more permitted to receive the memorials of Christ's death and passion, after being separated for years from the Church which they love."

On February 14, 1841, St. John's parish was organized and a vestry elected.

The next station to be filled was Little Rock with the appointment of the Rev. William H. C. Yeager,⁸ who arrived on July 8, 1840, and maintained himself by opening a school. He found the Methodists the most numerous, with a neat brick church; next, the Presbyterians, with an old frame church with a steeple and a bell. The Roman Catholics were building a church, and the Baptists worshipped in a frame building. There were some Lutherans and a few Jews.

Under date of September 21, 1840, Mr. Yeager reports to the Board of Missions:

The prospects of the Church are very good. Some of the most respectable families of the place, say 15 at the lowest calculation, are decidedly strongly favorable to the worship of

⁶*Journal General Convention*, 1841, pp. 168-170.

⁷Ordered Deacon by Bishop C. P. McIlvaine, of Ohio, on September 27, 1836. Minister St. Stephen's Church, East Liverpool, Ohio.

⁸Bishop Polk ordered Mr. Yeager, "of the Diocese of Tennessee," as Deacon on December 21, 1839; and later adds: "I admitted the Rev. Mr. Yeager, of the Diocese of Alabama, to the order of the Priesthood."

the Church. Our services are well attended; the responses are full and animating, and a spirit of reverence for religion and a strong disposition to vital religion are beginning to be manifested.

He adds, however, "At present there are no communicants of whom I have any knowledge." Services were held in "an elegant and large room in the statehouse."⁹

A little later Mr. Yeager reports preaching to the Germans in their native tongue and will officiate for them every four weeks. In 1841 there were attached to the Church in Little Rock 30 families and 13 communicants.

On January 1, 1841, he reported that:

"The Vestry are about to purchase three lots which will cost \$800 each. The owners of the lots will present one lot. Our Bishop has presented us with another, and the third to be paid for by the congregation. Subscription papers for the erection of a church are in circulation, \$2,000 are already subscribed, and every prospect of success is before us. For these blessings God be praised."¹⁰

The third early missionary station in Arkansas was at Fayetteville, on the borders of the Indian Territory, to which the Rev. William Scull,¹¹ from Fort Gibson, was transferred in February, 1841. On his arrival he reported that he could not find one single Protestant Episcopalian. But shortly afterwards Bishop Polk visited the station and confirmed 8, describing it as "one of the most promising fields of labor in the State."

SECOND VISITATION

On December 6, 1840, Bishop Polk set out on his second visitation to Arkansas and the Indian Territory, arriving at Little Rock on the 15th, and remaining for ten days, "preaching as occasion offered and administering the Sacraments of the Church." He found at Little Rock "a very interesting congregation, bidding fair to be strong, had been organized by the Rev. William H. C. Yeager, and that steps were being taken for the erection of a suitable church edifice." Three days were spent at Pine Bluff, where the Rev. William Mitchell had

⁹*Spirit of Missions*, 1840, pp. 344-45.

¹⁰*Spirit of Missions*, 1841, pp. 105-106.

¹¹Ordered Deacon by Bishop Richard Channing Moore, of Virginia, November 18, 1836. Before coming to Arkansas he was minister at St. James' and Havmarket Parishes, Virginia.

assembled a small congregation. The bishop notes that owing to the unhealthiness of the station, Mr. Mitchell was to be transferred to Hempstead county. Preaching at Van Buren and Fort Smith, he proceeded to the Choctaw nation at Dockville, the principal village in the nation. He found "a decided wish for the regular ministrations of the Church."

BISHOP JAMES H. OTEY

1841-1844

Provisional Bishop

At the General Convention of 1841, the selection of a bishop for Louisiana having been remitted to the House of Bishops, they elected Bishop Polk for that diocese, and the nomination was confirmed by the House of Deputies. He left in Arkansas three missionaries at work: Rev. William H. C. Yeager at Little Rock, Rev. William Scull at Fayetteville, Rev. William Mitchell at Spring Hill, Hempstead County. Whereupon the Presiding Bishop appointed Bishop Otey, of Tennessee, in charge of Arkansas and the Indian Territory. This arrangement continued until 1844.

Otey started on his first visitation of Arkansas early in 1842, arrived at Little Rock on February 28, and records the fact that he was engaged every day in preaching "and enquiring into the condition of this and other stations in Arkansas." The result of that enquiry was a realization of the dire need of missionaries in the State. He made a strong appeal to the Board of Missions for additional missionaries, and in so doing made the following rather unusual suggestion:

"And here permit to state, what you may suggest to clergymen who want situations. By raising his 'Ebenezer' at such a place as Van Buren, a clergyman who can save a little from his hard earnings, or has a little of his own laid by, may make such an investment of it in lands which are good and cheap, as will probably provide him with comforts 'against a rainy day. I wish you would throw out this idea or suggestion to some of our young brethren, who are not afraid to venture into the wilderness for the sake of Christ and the Church.'" ¹²

At Little Rock he found the people, who were worshipping in the Presbyterian Church when it was not otherwise used, were feeling very greatly the want of a church edifice of their own. Much had been

¹²*Spirit of Missions*, 1842, p. 102.

done, but more remained. The pressure of the times had seriously affected the payment of promises. He adds:

"The strain, however, is very severe on Mr. Yeager; for while efforts are made to finish the church, next to nothing is done for his support. So soon as the church is completed I doubt not that the station will support itself."¹³

Bishop Otey was literally in "journeyings oft." With a view to discovering the conditions of the Indians he traveled to Fort Towson in the Indian Territory and across the Choctaw nation to Fort Smith, and pays warm tribute to the officers of the United States Army for provision for his comfort and safety.

General Taylor sent him on horseback to Van Buren, where the Rev. Daniel McManus was missionary. There he preached "to a very respectable congregation," and states: "To-day laid the corner-stone of Trinity Church."

Returning to Little Rock, after prayers by the Rev. James Young, the missionary in charge, the bishop preached and confirmed 13. He reported that:

"The prospects of the Church at this place continue to brighten under the judicious and faithful ministrations of the worthy Missionary. The debt of the church is nearly, if not wholly paid, and the need of more accommodation for those who attend our services, begins to be felt."¹⁴

Visiting Pine Bluff he found that every family professing attachment to the Church had moved away, and a little later he notes that

"The Rev. William Mitchell, at Pine Bluff, having remained at his post, till his own health was nearly ruined, and until every communicant of his congregation had died or removed, recently took letters of dismission to Bishop Chase."¹⁵

On Sunday, November 27, 1842, Christ Church, Little Rock, was consecrated by Bishop Otey. Morning Prayer was read by the Rev. William Scull, and the lessons by Mr. Yeager. In his *Journal* the bishop describes the church as "a brick edifice, with organ gallery, floors laid, pulpit and the walls to be plastered, and the house painted; will accommodate, when finished, 300 or 400 people."¹⁶ Eight years later a wooden tower was built on the western front, a vestry room

¹³*Spirit of Missions*, 1842, p. 103.

¹⁴*Journal General Convention*, 1844, p. 224.

¹⁵*Spirit of Missions*, 1843, p. 304.

¹⁶*Annals of Christ Church*, pp. 73-74.

being provided on the first floor. There the minister robed and entered the church from the outside. An organ and a bell were added later.

Visiting Fayetteville in 1843 the bishop found "the Church struggling hard to live," and at Batesville "many very friendly to the Church," He describes Washington as "a poor looking town of 300 or 400 people."

On April 1, 1843, Mr. Yeager, by reason of ill health, resigned as the missionary at Little Rock, and became rector of St. John's Church, Tallahassee, Florida; later he is listed as minister in Washington, Mississippi. In the General Convention *Journal* of 1850 he is recorded as "residing in California."

He was succeeded at Little Rock by the Rev. James Young, who came from Florence, Alabama. His stipend was \$400. He reports the times as hard by reason of floods which destroyed the cotton and corn crops, and "the country steeped in poverty," which increased the cost of living nearly fifty per cent.

The Rev. Daniel McManus became missionary at Van Buren on July 13, 1843, with charge also of Fort Smith. He organized a Sunday school and a vestry. Two lots for a church were given by Colonel Dennen. The missionary reported also the promise of a bell; a Church Bible and Prayer Book; as much paint as the church will require and a handsome subscription from two officers of the garrison together with the ladies "directing their energies to the building of a church—all giving promise that Trinity Church, Van Buren, will, ere long, be ready for consecration." There were 13 families and 170 individuals.

In 1844 Bishop Otey resigned his oversight of Arkansas and the Indian Territory, retaining his jurisdiction in Tennessee. At that time there were two mission stations and two missionaries in Arkansas—Little Rock and Van Buren.

GEORGE WASHINGTON FREEMAN

1844-1858

The General Convention of 1844 elected the Rev. George Washington Freeman, rector of Emmanuel Church, New Castle, Delaware, "to exercise episcopal functions in the State of Arkansas and in the Indian Territory south of the 36½ parallel of latitude, and to exercise supervision over the Missions of this Church in the Republic of Texas."

A descendant of Edmond Freeman, who settled at Sandwich, Massachusetts, in 1635, he was born at Sandwich on June 13, 1789.

His parents were rigid Congregationalists. He was ordered deacon at the age of 38 on October 8, 1826, by Bishop Ravenscroft and priested on May 20, 1827, by the same bishop. From 1829 to 1840 he was rector of Christ Church, Raleigh, North Carolina, and after serving for a short time in Tennessee and New Jersey, he became rector of Emmanuel Church, New Castle, Delaware. He was consecrated October 26, 1844.

FIRST VISITATION

The bishop included in his first visitation Little Rock, Van Buren, Fort Smith, Fayetteville, Cane Hill, and the Head Waters of White River. At Little Rock he confirmed 9 persons. Appealing to the Bishop of Massachusetts for help at this station, he wrote:

"The Church at Little Rock, through the failure of some means counted upon at the time of building, is embarrassed by a debt, which, though small, is quite beyond the ability of the congregation to meet. The debt is only \$800; and yet, if not speedily liquidated, it must cause the church to pass into other hands."¹⁷

It appears that this debt of \$800 was for one of the three lots for which the congregation had made itself responsible. Failing to collect some of the promised subscriptions the congregation for some time paid interest on that amount, but eventually found itself unable to pay the interest and at the same time contribute to the support of the missionary and was in grave danger of losing the land.

From Little Rock he journeyed on horseback to Van Buren, where he found no communicants, no candidates for confirmation, "and I may add, no congregation *proper*." At Fort Smith he found the same conditions prevailing. The missionary, the Rev. Mr. McManus, being elected as chaplain to Fort Gibson, Van Buren became vacant. At Fayetteville he preached in a schoolroom, and of that station he reports:

"The Rev. Mr. Scull, the former Missionary in this part of Arkansas, who for the last two years, has been laboring as he could in this field, without compensation from any source, supporting himself and his family by the labor of his own hands, will probably soon accept the appointment of Chaplain to one of the United States military posts; and thus this portion of the vineyard will be left entirely destitute."¹⁸

¹⁷*Spirit of Missions*, 1845, p. 327.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 292-293.

At Cane Hill the bishop preached in a small storeroom and confirmed three persons. He likewise licensed Captain Chas. as a lay reader to conduct services pending the arrival of a missionary.

On June 15, 1846, Mr. Young resigned as missionary at Little Rock, having, as he said, "exhausted what little property he had." The Rev. C. C. Townsend reorganized the defunct parish at Van Buren with 32 names; also at Fort Smith with a smaller number. At Fayetteville, which he visited, he found 7 Episcopal families and 9 communicants.

Under date of October 9, 1847, Bishop Freeman made the first triennial report to the General Convention. It is summarized as follows:

"In Arkansas the progress of the Church has not, as yet, been very encouraging, mainly owing, perhaps, to the want of a supply of efficient Missionaries," and he goes on to say:

"The only distinct and settled congregation in the State, and the only Church edifice, are at Little Rock . . . it embraces a due proportion of the more refined and better part of the society in the place, and many very excellent persons. The number of communicants is about 25. . . . At Van Buren and Fort Smith there are a few Communicants, perhaps 10 or 12, and nominally organized congregations; but the Church had not, when the station was last visited by the Bishop, attained distinctive character and strength enough to secure a separate place of worship, subject to its own control, of the humblest kind. At Cane Hill and Fayetteville there are also a few Communicants . . . at Batesville there are 4 or 5 Communicants; 3 or 4 at Helena and Columbia; also a few in the southern parts of the State.¹⁰

He lists the clergy as Rev. Daniel McManus at Van Buren, Rev. William Scull at Fayetteville, and Rev. James Young at Little Rock.

Three years later (1850) he reported that there had been no increase in the number of missionaries during the last five years. The unoccupied stations were El Dorado and Camden with 15 to 20 communicants; Batesville with 5 or 6, and Helena with at least 6. The number of communicants in the missionary stations was about 100; the whole number in the State "not far from 150." In the Indian Territory there was one military chaplain, "but no Mission, nor is there any immediate prospect of our being able to establish one." In 1853 he reported in Arkansas "but *two* clergymen, one the Rector of a self-sup-

¹⁰*Journal General Convention, 1847, pp. 210-211.*

porting parish, the other a devoted and painstaking Missionary. Two Missionary stations are vacant." The most hopeful feature was the fact that there were two candidates for Holy Orders.

Bishop Freeman's last triennial report was made in 1856. There were then three clergymen. The only occupied missionary stations were Helena, Camden and El Dorado. Fayetteville was vacant; Van Buren and Fort Smith were, and had been for several years, vacant, the congregations only enjoying the services of the Church at the annual visitations of the bishop. Mention is made of a plan to establish a school under the control of the Church. Land and buildings had been purchased, though \$2,000 was still needed.

Having resigned his oversight of the Church in Texas, Bishop Freeman took up his residence in Little Rock, where he died on April 29, 1858. He was an ideal missionary bishop, a true shepherd of his scattered flock in Arkansas.

On the death of Bishop Freeman the Presiding Bishop again placed Arkansas and the Indian Territory in May, 1858, under the care of Bishop Otey.

He reports 5 clergymen regularly settled over parishes—the Rev. Otis Hackett at Old River Lake Village; the Rev. William Binet in charge at Van Buren, where funds were being collected for a church. The Rev. John Sandels had been transferred from Tennessee to Fayetteville; the Rev. William Eppes from Florida had taken charge of the church at Camden following the late Rev. Mr. McHugh; and the Rev. John T. Wheat, D. D., from North Carolina, had been elected rector of Christ Church, Little Rock, where "his labors have been very acceptable to the congregation." The Rev. Messrs. John Burke and Daniel McManus were chaplains in the United States Army. The bishop also reports:

"The Rev. William Stout has been transferred from the Diocese of Mississippi to Arkansas, and has settled at Little Rock. He has no parochial charge, but performs Missionary labors wherever opportunity presents itself. He has been a liberal contributor to the Missionary Funds expended in Arkansas; and given much personal labor to the work of preaching the Gospel at different places, and strengthen things that remain."²⁰

The Rev. David Margot was ordained deacon by Bishop Otey and transferred to the Diocese of New York. Mr. Langstroth, resident of Little Rock, was admitted as a candidate for Holy Orders.

²⁰*Journal General Convention*, 1859, p. 359.

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ORIGINAL CHRIST CHURCH, LITTLE ROCK, WHERE THE DIOCESE WAS FORMED

[For description, see pages 324 - 325]

HENRY CHAMPLIN LAY
1859-1869

At the General Convention of 1859 Henry Champlin Lay, rector of the Church of the Nativity, Huntsville, Alabama, was elected Missionary Bishop of Arkansas to succeed Bishop Freeman, and was consecrated on October 23 of that year.

Born at Richmond, Virginia, December 6, 1813, he graduated from the University of Virginia in 1842, and from the Virginia Theological Seminary four years later. He was ordered deacon July 10, 1846, by Bishop William Meade, of Virginia, and on July 12, 1848, was advanced to the priesthood by Bishop Cobbs, of Alabama.

He established his headquarters in Arkansas at Fort Smith. His jurisdiction embraced the vast Southwest. The only means of travel were on horseback, by stage and river boats, and it would have taken three years for one man to cover it adequately.

Within two years of his consecration the War Between the States broke out and Arkansas seceded from the Union in 1861, and the churches to the South organized the "General Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States of America." Whereupon, Lay presented his resignation as missionary bishop to the Presiding Bishop in the North and notified the senior bishop in the South that he would be willing to continue his work in Arkansas.

THE PRIMARY CONVENTION OF THE DIOCESE OF ARKANSAS²¹

The Primary Convention of the Diocese of Arkansas,²¹ convened at Christ Church, Little Rock, on November 1, 1862. Of the six clergy in the district there were present the Rev. Messrs. J. M. Curtis, of Camden; W. C. Stout, of Hawkstone; R. W. Trimble, of Pine Bluff, and J. T. Wheat, of Little Rock, together with the following lay delegates entitled to seats: from Little Rock, Messrs. J. H. Crease (absent); D. Ringo and L. E. Barber from Fort Smith; R. M. Johnson from Hawkstone; from Pine Bluff, W. A. Cantrell and R. Clements, and from Camden, Weldon E. Wright.

On November 3 the clerical and lay delegates proceeded "to organize the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of Arkansas into a Diocese and adopted a Constitution for the same." It also applied for admission into the General Council of the Church in the Confederate States. The Rev. Messrs. J. T. Wheat, W. C. Stout and J. M.

²¹The proceedings of this convention, also that of 1863, as set forth in the Journal of Bishop Lay, are reprinted in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE for March, 1939, pp. 68ff and 70ff.

Curtis were elected clerical delegates, and Messrs. Doctor John Seay, L. B. Shepard and D. Ringo lay delegates.

After silent prayer the Rt. Rev. Henry C. Lay was unanimously elected Bishop of Arkansas.

The General Council met in St. Paul's Church, Augusta, Georgia, on November 12, 1862, Bishop Lay preaching the opening sermon.

The House of Bishops concurred with the House of Deputies in "admitting the Diocese of Arkansas to union with and representation in the General Council of this Church," likewise "ratified and confirmed the election of the Rt. Rev. Henry C. Lay, D. D., to be Bishop of the Diocese of Arkansas."²² So, for the time being, Arkansas ceased to be a missionary district.

At this Council Bishop Lay made his report on the state of the Church since the three years following his consecration. An effort had been made to establish a mission in Santa Fe, New Mexico, and a projected visit to Arizona and New Mexico by the bishop was hindered by the outbreak of the War. He added:

"I have, on several occasions, traveled through the Cherokee and Chocktaw nations, preaching as opportunity offered, and seeking to acquaint myself with the peculiarities of that field. I was kindly received everywhere among these people, and some desire was expressed to have the Church established among them. The unsettled condition of the country has rendered any specific effort impossible."²³

He estimated the number of communicants in Arkansas at 400; there had been 1 ordination, 151 confirmations and he listed the clergy as follows:

Rev. J. M. Curtis, St. John's Church, Camden.

Rev. Otis Hackett, Emmanuel Church, Lake Village.

Rev. David Kerr, residing near El Dorado.

Rev. Daniel McManus, residing near Fayetteville.

Rev. John Sandels, St. John's Church, Fort Smith.

Rev. W. C. Stout, Church, Hawkstone.

Rev. R. W. Trimble, St. John's Church, Pine Bluff.

Rev. J. T. Wheat, Christ Church, Little Rock.

Rev. R. H. Murphy (Deacon), Washington, together with two clergy listed as "non-resident in the diocese":

Rev. B. R. S. Boemond.

Rev. W. H. Smythe (Deacon).

²²*Journal General Council*, 1862, p. 161.

²³*Ibid.*, Appendix C, pp. 191-192.

Bishop Lay's estimate of the attitude of the General Council is worthy of note. He said:

"Our final severance from the Ecclesiastical Legislature of the Church in the United States was effected without one word of bitterness on our part, and in the fear of God we open a new volume in our history."²⁴

THE SECOND DIOCESAN CONVENTION

was held May 13, 1863. In addition to the bishop there were present the Rev. Messrs. J. M. Curtis, W. C. Stout and R. W. Trimble, together with lay delegates from Christ Church, Little Rock; St. John's, Camden; Grace, Washington; Hawkstone; Trinity, Pine Bluff; and St. Michael's, Arkadelphia. The parishes of Spring Hill, St. Paul's, Fayetteville, and St. John's, Phillip's County, were dropped from the roll. 102 Confirmations and 359 Communicants were reported.

The outstanding feature was the address of the bishop, in the course of which he recited his visitations during which he had no settled home. Arkansas was invaded by the Federal troops and he had removed his family from danger. There is one pathetic entry in his Journal:

"Feb. 18. I committed to the grave the body of my son, Thomas Atkinson. It was a dark and lonely day, a time of public apprehension when I could not call upon my friends to aid me. I buried him with no other help than that of my domestics, and myself read the office for the burial of the dead."²⁵

He made as many visitations in Arkansas as possible, often preaching in private houses. Traveling sometimes on horseback and sometimes on foot, he made a partial visitation of Louisiana and Georgia and assisted at the funeral of Bishop Polk.

There is one very interesting record of his war experiences:

"He then consented, at the invitation of the Bishop of Georgia, to assume the oversight of the Chaplaincies of the Army of the Tennessee, and joined the army about the time it fell back on Atlanta. He held no commission, but was recognized by common consent as 'Missionary Bishop to the army of the Tennessee.'

"The Rev. Dr. C. T. Quintard, that most zealous and efficient of Army Chaplains, associated himself with the Bishop, occupying together a tent at Head Quarters, and messing with General Shoup, Chief of Staff, throughout the siege. Numerous

²⁴HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, March, 1939, p. 83.

²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 80.

services were held, chiefly in Hospitals and in the open air. Many were also confirmed on sick beds, under an arbor, and sometimes, at an unexpected encounter, under the shade of a tree on the roadside, including Gen. Hood, Commander in Chief, officers of various grades, and privates."²⁶

The night after the battle of Shiloh he arrived at Huntsville, Alabama, only to find it occupied by Federal troops, which remained in possession for nearly five months. He writes:

"For two weeks of this period I was imprisoned, in common with eleven citizens of the town, arrested as hostages; most of the time I was in solitary confinement under guard."²⁷

On December 22, 1862, he crossed the river at Vicksburg, and reached Arkansas six days later, preaching at Pine Bluff and confirming eight persons. This congregation was worshipping in a borrowed church, but the bishop "was gratified to observe how it had carried on under many difficulties." In general the work in Arkansas was sorely crippled by the strife. The church at Little Rock was used as a military hospital; Helena was taken for a post chapel; it was reported that "Fayetteville is desolated. Van Buren nearly so by repeated raids." The bishop summed up the situation when he noted that "for part of the time services had been suspended, without exception, in every parish and station." The clergy were scattered and some were compelled to engage in secular occupation to earn a living.

At the close of the War Bishop Lay had in Arkansas "two unsupported clergymen, without cure, laboring for their daily bread." Some of the former clergy returned so that in 1868 he was able to report six presbyters at work, one without parochial charge and one deacon. So far as the Indian Territory was concerned he said: "I know of but two or three communicants in that region."

REUNION

When the General Convention of 1865 convened at Philadelphia the War was over and the way was paved to the reunion of the Church to the North and to the South.

There were notable absences. The clerical and lay deputies from the dioceses of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina and Virginia did not answer to the roll, though their names were called. The House of Clerical and Lay Deputies by formal

²⁶HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, March, 1939, pp. 78-79.

²⁷*Ibid.*, p. 81.

resolution offered "its profound gratitude to God that we have among us our brethren, the Clerical and Lay Deputies from the dioceses of Texas, North Carolina, and Tennessee; and that we recognize their presence in our midst as a token and pledge of the future and entire restoration of the union of the Church throughout the length and breadth of the land." A further move in the healing of the breach was the recognition of the validity of the consecration of Bishop W. H. Wilmer, of Alabama, who had been consecrated in the Confederate Church.

Bishop Lay had much to do with the restoration of unity. Together with Bishop Thomas Atkinson, of North Carolina, he attended the opening service of the convention.

What followed is thus graphically described:

"At the opening services of the General Convention of 1865 the two southern bishops modestly took seats with the congregation in the nave of the church; and a thrill of deep emotion passed through the vast assembly when their presence was observed, and it was whispered that the South was coming back. Messengers were sent to conduct them to seats among the other bishops in the chancel—a courtesy of which they were fully sensible, but which they felt it proper to decline. After the service the Bishops of New York and Maryland went with others to greet them, and with friendly violence drew them towards the House of Bishops. It was then, when they hesitated to enter that house until they should know on what terms and with what understanding they were to be received, that Bishop Potter addressed to them the memorable words: 'Trust all to the love and honor of your brethren.' They could ask, and they desired, no other assurance. They knew the men with whom they had to deal. They entered without further hesitation, and the House of Bishops nobly redeemed the noble pledge made by the Bishop of New York."²⁸

Bishop Lay took his seat in the House of Bishops on the second day of the convention.

It only remains to say that at the final meeting of the Council of the Church in the Confederate States the dioceses in union with the Council were made free to resume their former ecclesiastical relations, and the Council itself dissolved.

Reunion left Arkansas in an anomalous position. It had become a diocese, and Lay had been recognized as diocesan, but there was no diocese that could function. No diocesan convention could convene, for there were no clergy entitled to seats, and no lay delegates could

²⁸Perry, *History of the American Episcopal Church*, Vol. II, Monograph VIII. *The Church in the Confederate States*, by the Rev. John Fulton, D. D., LL.D., pp. 560-692.

be gathered. Under these circumstances Bishop Lay acted the part of a Christian statesman expressing his willingness that Arkansas should again become a missionary district and he himself revert to the status of a missionary bishop in the reunited Church.

Recovery was slow, hampered by lack of clergy and of means. From 1865 to 1868 he confirmed only 264 persons, "largely non-parochial."

In 1869 he was elected bishop of the newly formed diocese of Easton, Maryland.

The Arkansas Churchman says of his work in Arkansas:

"A true pioneer, a conscientious and indefatigable worker, a great soul and a Christian statesman of the first rank was Henry Champlin Lay, who drew together, and really established these early beginnings with some degree of permanence during the ten years of his Episcopate."²⁹

He died September 17, 1885.

HENRY NILES PIERCE

1870-1899

In the year 1870 Henry Niles Pierce, rector of St. Paul's Church, Springfield, Illinois, was elected Missionary Bishop of Arkansas and the Indian Territory. It was an auspicious moment in the development of the State. The wounds of the War were healing slowly. Railroads had arrived; the population was increasing; that of Little Rock from four to fifteen thousand in six years. The Church in Arkansas was faced with a great opportunity for expansion, the new bishop giving himself unsparingly to the task for the twenty-nine years of his episcopate. In less than two years the number of clergy increased from eight to twelve, and confirmations doubled. When the diocese was organized in 1871 it had 11 priests, 1 deacon and 720 communicants. Fortunately, we are able to reproduce, in substance, the following address read by Mr. W. Henry Rector, historiographer of the diocese, at the convention of 1946. It reads as follows:

ADDRESS OF THE HISTORIOGRAPHER

It was Quinquagesima, February 27, 1870, the steamer Clarksville, which had left New Orleans on the 20th bound for Little Rock, was tied up upon a sandbar down the river from the town of Pine Bluff. It re-

²⁹Diamond Jubilee Number. *Arkansas Churchman*, January, 1946.

quired a cable from the shore to pull her off the sandbar, and just about 3:00 in the afternoon she docked at Pine Bluff. There was the usual activity attendant upon the arrival of a river boat. The Negro stevedores began to remove the cargo, consisting principally of bales of goods, barrels of flour and sugar, casks of molasses and undoubtedly also barrels of whiskey.

The gangplank was lowered and among the passengers going ashore was a large, well built man in clerical clothes. He was accompanied by his wife and two small daughters. There was something striking about his appearance. He walked with a step that was both firm and sure. His posture was erect. He was about 50 years of age and one seeing him would have been immediately impressed, and especially by the appearance of his face, which radiated both intellectuality and kindness. Indeed, if the observer had been religiously inclined he might well have thought of another journey in another age made by the great Apostle to the Gentiles.

We follow this gentleman down the gangplank until his feet rest for the first time upon the soil of Arkansas, the State in which he is to live and labor for nearly thirty years.

There were less than one-half million people living in Arkansas at that time. The population of Little Rock was 12,000. Pine Bluff had a population of 2,000, and Fort Smith and Helena each had a population of about 2,200. It had been just a few years since the surrender of Lee at Appomattox. The southland, Arkansas included, was still in the throes of reconstruction. The carpetbagger was on all sides. The government of the State was still, to a large extent, in the control of those who had been her conquerors. The people were poor, in many cases destitute. The Constitution of 1874 (under which the State now operates) had not been written. But this stranger, though he came from the North, was not a carpetbagger. He was a Missionary in the Church of God.

Our distinguished passenger was none other than the Rt. Rev. Henry Niles Pierce, D. D., LL. D., the 95th bishop in the American succession of the Historic Episcopate. He recently had been elected Missionary Bishop of Arkansas and the Indian Territory. . . .

Bishop Pierce was consecrated in Christ Church, Mobile, Alabama, January 25, 1870; Bishop Green, of Mississippi, being the consecrator; Bishop Wilmer, of Alabama, and Bishop Young, of Florida, being the presentors, and Bishop Whitehouse, of Illinois, preaching the sermon.

He was born in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, October 19, 1820, and was graduated from Brown University in 1842. His theological studies

were chiefly under the direction of Dr. Francis Vinton³⁰ and Rev. George W. Hathaway, both of Rhode Island.³¹ His family were members of the Baptist denomination and he first thought of entering the Baptist ministry. When he began to study, however, he found that the Episcopal Church was nearer in all respects to the original Church as founded by our Lord and His Apostles.

Because of the rigors of the New England climate, which affected adversely his throat and bronchia, he, on advice of his physician, moved to a warmer climate, first to Florida and later to Texas. He was ordered deacon, April 23, 1848, by Bishop George W. Freeman, ordained to the priesthood in Matagorda, Texas, January 3, 1849, and began his ministry in Washington County, that State, where he founded the churches of St. Peter at Brenham and St. Paul at Washington, later becoming rector of Christ Church at Matagorda, where on April 18 he married Miss Nannie Haywood Sheppard. His work kept him out in the balmy Texas air most of the time, with the result that he acquired an unusually strong physique and enjoyed good health, which continued until his last illness and death nearly 50 years later.

He served for a time as rector of St. Paul's Church, Rahway, New Jersey, and in October, 1857, became rector of St. John's Parish, Mobile, Alabama, where he remained for eleven years. During the summer of 1858 he and a Roman Catholic priest were the only ministers who remained through the severest epidemic of yellow fever that ever visited Mobile.

In November, 1868, he accepted a call to St. Paul's Church, Springfield, Illinois, where he had been a little more than a year when he was elected by the House of Bishops to be Missionary Bishop of Arkansas and the Indian Territory. He was the fourth Missionary Bishop of Arkansas, his predecessors having been Bishop Leonidas Polk (1838-1841), Bishop George Washington Freeman (1844-1858), and Bishop Henry Champlin Lay (1859-1869).

At the time of Bishop Pierce's consecration, the Church in Arkansas was exceedingly weak. There was, according to Bishop Lay, a total com-

³⁰Rev. Dr. Francis Vinton, born at Providence, Rhode Island, August 29, 1809. Ordered Deacon by Bishop A. V. Griswold, September 30, 1838. Rector St. Stephen's, Providence, R. I.; Trinity Church, Newport, R. I.; Emmanuel and Grace Churches, Brooklyn, New York. In 1855 he became an assistant minister of Trinity Parish, New York City, being assigned to St. Paul's Chapel. He died September 29, 1872.

³¹Rev. George Washington Hathaway. Ordered Deacon by Bishop Bowler, of South Carolina, December 10, 1824. In 1826 he is listed as minister of St. David's, Cheraw, South Carolina. In the Journal of 1829 it is recorded that "This gentleman removed into the Eastern Diocese, about two years ago, without the usual Canonical dismission from this diocese." In 1832 it is stated that he was "sometime minister of St. Mark's, Warren, Rhode Island."

municant strength of 605. There were only five church buildings and one rectory. We quote the following from a note by the Secretary of the Diocese appearing in the Journal of the twenty-third Annual Council:

"When the Bishop took charge of the jurisdiction to which he was assigned he entered upon a life of hardship, sacrifice and unremitting toil. The field he had entered was a purely missionary field, with a few scattered congregations, very feeble, both in means and numbers, and far removed from one another. The Episcopal visitations involved great labor, fatigue and exposure. Only a very strong man physically could undertake such work. The only railroad at that time in the State was the Memphis and Little Rock, and perhaps some portions of other lines. The great Iron Mountain system (now the Missouri Pacific), had not been completed. The railroad bridge at Little Rock was not built until 1872-73. Traveling in the State was mostly by stages, private conveyances and by boat.

"The above statement will give some idea of the missionary field and work upon which the Bishop had entered. The old journals, as well as the later ones, show that he traveled as many as eight and nine thousand miles each year, which is a remarkable record of endurance and faithfulness of purpose."

THE BISHOP'S JOURNAL

The entry in Bishop's Pierce's Journal covering the day he first put foot on the soil of Arkansas is interesting. It is as follows:

"February 27. Quinquagesima. Hoped to reach Pine Bluff in time for morning services, as the boat intends stopping there for several hours. But the boat struck on a bar and was detained 3 or 4 hours. After trying to spar her over in vain, a cable was run ashore and we hauled over. Arrived at Pine Bluff at 3 o'clock. Here I first set my foot on the soil of Arkansas. I inquired my way to the building (a Baptist Chapel now rented for Church services) where the Rev. Mr. Trimble holds services. The children were assembling to practice Church music. Their bright, intelligent faces and quiet manners impressed me very favorably with the Church people in Arkansas on this my first glimpse of them. Learning that the minister, Mr. Trimble, was expected there momentarily, I waited for him, as his residence was nearly a mile away as I understood. After a little I walked out a few squares to see the new Church now being erected. It is of brick, Gothic in style and the plans correctly carried out. It will be a very beautiful Church— . . . The walls are up and the roof is now being covered. Returning to the Chapel found that Mr. T. had not yet made his appearance. Mr. (not legible) offered to take me in his buggy to his house. Mrs. Pierce and the girls went back to the boat. Found Mr. T. not well. Had a very pleasant reception and a

delightful little call. Then Mrs. T. drove me to the boat, it had been waiting for nearly an hour, though I had been absent only the $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours that the Captain had told me I could have ashore. Bidding Mrs. T. a hurried goodbye I went aboard and at $5\frac{1}{2}$ o'clock we started again up the river."

Starting with the day of his consecration, Bishop Pierce began to keep this journal. He continued it practically until the time of his death nearly 30 years later. It comprises some six or seven large ledger books, the old-fashioned type ledger, and is written entirely in longhand. I find it interesting to pursue it further and quote as follows from entries made during his first year as Missionary Bishop:

"(Little Rock)—March 2, Ash Wednesday. My first service in Arkansas. Mr. Morrell said Morning Prayer. I said the Ante-Communion and preached. A fair congregation for a week day as compared with other localities. At 7 p. m. the Rector, Rev. Henry H. Morrell, said evening services and I preached again. Kept the day as a strict fast from sundown to sundown. In the afternoon, Mr. Morrell, myself and wife called at Mr. Gilbert Knapp's to see about arranging for board.

"March 3. Myself and family moved from the rectory to Mr. Knapp's. At night was called to go to Capt. Kidders, whose wife was lying very sick. I drove to the rectory and told Mr. Morrell of the case and at his request proceeded on the visit. Found the patient very low. She had heard of the arrival of the new Bishop and wished much to see him. My visit seemed to comfort her not a little. We find ourselves very satisfactorily settled at Mr. Knapp's. The family consists only of Mr. K. and wife. A son of Mrs. K. is now at school in Virginia with General Lee.

"March 29. Arrived at Augusta about 5 o'clock this morning. Rev. C. A. Bruce and Mr. Stevens at whose house I am to stay while here, met me. . . . After breakfast I called with Mr. B. at Col. Patterson's office where I met also Col. Pickett and many others, mostly lawyers. The Circuit Court is in session here, Judge William Story presiding. William H. Hawes, Esq., District Attorney. They both reside at Madison. They both called on me in the afternoon and after a long, interesting conversation they almost decided to come to Confirmation. I will add here what I learned the next day from Mr. Hawes that they, Judge S. and himself had determined to come forward, the former for Baptism and both for Confirmation, early in June at Little Rock, where they expected to be at that time on business. Col. Pickett also defers Confirmation for the reason that he is now awaiting trial on a political charge of treason against the State of Arkansas arising from real or supposed opposition to the doings of the militia here last year. We came near to giving a visible illustration of the manner in

which the Church ignores all merely political questions by exhibiting the Judge, the prosecuting attorney and the accused all kneeling side by side to receive the Apostolic rite of Confirmation.

"April 25. About 2 o'clock the boat reached Van Buren. As she laid there several hours we, Capt. Wells and myself, took a stroll through the town. It is in situation beautiful, lying at the foot of a hill . . . the eastern extremity of the Boston Mountain range. The view from the hill top behind the town, as I learned subsequently, is a very fine one. The place is neat and gradually recovering from the effects of the War. At 5 o'clock we reached Ft. Smith. . . . The first person I met at Ft. Smith was Mr. Long, a brother-in-law of Ralph Marsh, Rahway, N. J., with whom I was acquainted a dozen years since. . . . The Rev. Mr. Sandels came to meet me and also Col. Brooks. Mr. Sandels took me in his buggy first to Mr. Leymour's banking house and then to his residence. I am to be his guest here. At 7½ we had service in St. John's Church, Ft. Smith. Mr. Sandels said Evening Prayer and I preached. . . . After the service there was a meeting of the congregation adjourned from Easter Monday to determine whether the pews for the ensuing year should be free or rented. . . . The congregation decided for free pews. Thank God, Thank God.

"April 29. . . . At 12½ noon took the stage to Fayetteville, Washington Co., over Boston Mountain. This is accounted the rough road of Arkansas. I shall not recommend it as a pleasure drive. But if the stage driver can travel it daily, without grumbling for \$30 a month, I can take it patiently once or twice a year. Gen. F. C. Armstrong very kindly furnished me with a free pass. Distance 60 miles. Rode all night the road too rough for sleeping. (30) Morning. Mrs. Bell sent her servant girl to the stage to inquire whether I had arrived, who took me bag and baggage to her home. After breakfast I took a nap for two hours. Calls from Dr. Charles W. Deane, Mr. Charles H. Leverett, Mr. Washington, Mr. Lindsey, Editor of the "Echo" and the Rev. Mr. Hoge, our missionary here. At 7½ Mr. Hoge said Evening Prayer and I preached to a good congregation. The services were held in the Academy, it being larger than the hall where they were wont to assemble. There was a small church here but it was blown down during the war and now nothing remains but a part of the foundation on which it rested. The situation is good, but as at Ft. Smith, the Church lot is too small. There are vacant lots adjoining and I have advised the Churchmen at Fayetteville to secure more ground if possible and even to change the site if necessary to this end.

"May 30. Left Hot Springs for Little Rock at 4 o'clock a. m. and arrived at 7 p. m. Distance 60 miles. . . . I add here a summary of my work on the Upper Arkansas and at Hot Springs. I have been on these trips 33 days—I have traveled 821 miles held services 30 times; preached 29 sermons; cate-

chized 1—administered Holy Communion 6 times (once in private); baptized 1 adult and 4 infants; confirmed 22 persons on 8 different occasions; made 6 Confirmation addresses and 4 others in explanation of the Church's faith and practice."

Bishop Pierce was a man of great scholarly attainments. He had taught higher mathematics at Brown University and was learned in the ancient languages, Hebrew, Greek and Latin. His fame as a scholar extended far beyond the Missionary District of Arkansas. It was recognized by an Archbishop of Canterbury, who appointed him upon a Commission to confer with the Greek Church with reference to the translation of a word in the Nicene Creed on which the Eastern and Western branches of the Church Catholic disagreed. The Eastern Orthodox Church rendered the phrase "From the Father *through the Son*," while the Western Church had it to read, "From the Father *and the Son*." It is interesting to note in this connection that Bishop Pierce differed from his brethren of the Anglican Communion and concurred in the interpretation by the scholars of the Eastern Church.

ORGANIZATION OF THE DIOCESE

In the spring of 1871, Bishop Pierce, realizing that something should be done to strengthen the Church in Arkansas, called a Convocation of the clergy and laity to be held upon Ascension Day (May 18) at Christ Church, Little Rock. At this Convocation there were seven clergymen present, to-wit: Rev. Messrs. W. C. Stout, D. C. McManus, R. W. Trimble, R. G. Jenkins, C. A. Bruce, C. M. Hoge and T. B. Lee. There were lay delegates from three parishes—Messrs. Barber, Christ Church, Little Rock; Ramsey, St. Paul's, Batesville, and Stone, St. John's, Helena. The Bishop in his Journal for May 18th says, "My object in summoning this Convocation was to effect some organization of the Churchmen of the State for more effective work. Having proposed several points for consideration, committees were appointed to report thereon." On the next day, May 19, Rev. W. C. Stout, Chairman of the Committee on Organization reported in favor of a full Diocesan organization. This report was adopted, as well as a resolution requesting the Bishop to call a Primary Convention. The day fixed was St. Bartholomew's Day, August 24, 1871.

I quote the following from the minutes of that Convention:

"At a meeting of the Clergy of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the State of Arkansas, and Lay Delegates from the Parishes therein, in Primary Convention, called by the Rt. Rev. H. N. Pierce, Missionary Bishop of Arkansas, at the suggestion of a previous convocation of the Clergy, for the purpose of or-

ganizing a Diocese, and held at Christ Church, Little Rock, on Thursday, the 24th day of August, A. D., 1871, after morning services, a charge by the Bishop and the Communion:

PRESENT

The Rt. Rev. H. N. Pierce, Missionary Bishop;
 Rev. D. McManus, of St. John's Church, Ft. Smith
 Rev. W. C. Stout, of Hawkstone Church, Perry Co.
 Rev. P. G. Jenkins, of Grace Church, Washington
 Rev. R. W. Trimble, of Trinity Church, Pine Bluff
 Rev. T. J. Beard, of St. John's Church, Helena
 Rev. John Gordon, of St. Michael's Church, Arkadelphia
 Rev. P. S. Ruth, of Hot Springs Church, Hot Springs.

The Rt. Rev. H. N. Pierce, D. D., LL. D., presiding, called the Convention to order, and appointed the Rev. Messrs. Stout and McManus a Committee on Credentials of Lay Delegates, who reported that the credentials of the following Delegates were in due form:

Messrs. John Wassell, for Christ Church, Little Rock
 C. H. Stone, for St. John's Church, Camden;
 R. V. McCracken, for Trinity Church, Pine Bluff;
 John P. McClendenin, for St. Paul's Church, Batesville
 J. T. Jones and } for St. John's Church, Helena.
 W. A. Stone }

Messrs. Wassell, C. H. Stone, McCracken and Clendenin, being present, took their seats as Lay Delegates.

On motion, L. E. Barber was elected Secretary of the Convention."

Mr. Barber was clerk of the Supreme Court of Arkansas.

The profound and primitive Catholicity of Bishop Pierce dominated his entire address to the Convention. I quote from it as follows:

"Brethren of the Clergy and Laity:

"We are met together to organize the Church in Arkansas into a Diocese, if, on mature deliberation, such a step should seem wise and expedient.

"When I summoned the Clergy and Laity to meet me in convocation a few months ago, I did not look for speedy action in this direction. It seemed, indeed, very desirable that we should have some organization of the Church here. The Parishes and Clergy were but *disjecta membra*. Each Clergyman stood isolated; each one was working alone. None ex-

tended a helping hand to his brother, for they were strangers to one another. Our system, practically, was pure Congregationalism, save that the Bishop was a connecting link to hold them loosely together. We lacked the strength that is derived from combination. And the very loneliness of his position depressed the heart and enfeebled the energies to a greater or less degree. My desire was to bring nearer each to each these scattered fragments that there might be united and cooperative action.

But when the committee charged with the duty of considering the subject of organization began to weigh the matter, they were, at every step, more and more impressed with the fact that no organization would be adequate to our wants, save such as would give the Church in Arkansas a full and complete Diocesan character. I was, therefore, requested to summon a Primary Convention of the Diocese of Arkansas, at Little Rock, at some time near the end of summer. We are now met in accordance with the resolution then passed. The Church in Arkansas is now more fully represented than at our former meeting, and you come authorized to take such action as may redound to the glory of God and the prosperity of this portion of the Lord's vineyard.

A committee, appointed at our Convocation in May last, has prepared a draft of the Constitution and Canons, to be laid before you. This much was done in order that we might not be compelled to hurry up the work of weeks and months in a few days. This is but a draft, to be altered as you see fit, or to be thrown aside for something better, if such be offered.

You are, of course, too well taught to imagine that we are about to adopt a Constitution of the Church, whether in Arkansas or elsewhere. The Church received her Divine Constitution more than eighteen centuries since. The essential government and laws of the Church of God were established by her founders in the beginning, and no man, or collection of men, have any power to change them. But in the beginning many things were left to be arranged by human wisdom, and consequently these vary according to the exigencies of time, and place, and circumstances. . . . The Apostles and Apostolic men of old arranged well the Church's system, and the nearer we approach to the early Church the more efficient we shall find our organization. And I believe we can lay a foundation now for a nearer approach, in some respects at least, to the primitive system than the Church in this country has ever made. I refer here to the primitive Diocesan system."³²

³²Bishop Pierce strongly believed that in the Primitive Church a diocese took the name of the see city, and not of a political division. The new diocese was admitted into union at the General Convention of 1871. The clerical deputies were the Rev. Messrs. Caleb A. Bruce, Robert W. Trimble, William C. Stout, Thomas J. Beard, the one lay deputy being Mr. R. V. McCracken, of Pine Bluff. At this Convention the bishop reported 9 churches, 1 chapel, 11 presbyters, one deacon, and 720 communicants.

The Primary Convention consumed three days. In addition to those who were present at the opening session, the minutes show that on the last day of the Convention, the Rev. C. A. Bruce, of St. Paul's, Batesville; Grace Church, Jacksonport, and St. Paul's, Augusta; Dr. J. A. Stinson, lay delegate from Grace Church, Jacksonport, and Messrs. J. M. Bosley and P. K. Roots, delegates from St. Paul's, Augusta, were present.

A Committee on Constitution and Canons, which had been appointed at the Convocation held in May preceding, made its report, and the Constitution and Canons presented were, with slight amendments, proposed by the Convention.

ELECTION OF DIOCESAN BISHOP

At 4:00 on the afternoon of the third day, the same being a special order, the Convention proceeded to the election of a Bishop for the Diocese of Arkansas. After Convention prayer and a few moments devoted to silent prayer, the Clergy retired. Shortly thereafter they returned and announced that they had unanimously nominated, by ballot, the Rt. Rev. Henry Niles Pierce as the Bishop of the Diocese of Arkansas. Bishop Pierce then called the Rev. Mr. Trimble to the chair and retired from the room. The Lay Delegates, voting by Parishes, then proceeded to ballot on the nomination made by the Clergy, and unanimously concurred therein. A Committee being appointed to notify the Bishop-elect, retired and after a time reported that they had performed the duty assigned them, and that the Bishop would respond in person.

The minutes of the meeting read as follows: "The Bishop, having entered and resumed the Chair, addressed the Council in regard to the Episcopate; declaring that, though at this time he was not prepared to accept or decline the office of Bishop of the Diocese of Arkansas, he would not leave his present field of labor until the Diocese of Arkansas was prepared to sustain a Bishop."

Resolutions were adopted providing for the purchase of a life insurance policy on the life of the Bishop in the sum of \$20,000. This Resolution is not as clear as it might be, but it was evidently the intention to make the proceeds of this policy an endowment for the Episcopate, if and when it should be paid.

Under the Constitution adopted, the governing body of the Diocese was called "the Council." Under the Constitution now in effect it is styled "the Convention."

The first annual meeting of this Council was held in Christ Church, Little Rock, beginning May 9, 1872. The Constitution and Canons pre-

viously proposed by the Primary Convention were read and, after slight amendments, were adopted. Although Bishop Pierce had not accepted his election as Bishop of the Diocese, he presided at this meeting of the Council.

With reference to his election as Diocesan, he said:

"I am not, therefore, even now, prepared to accept the office of Diocesan of Arkansas. Should the Council, however, desire to settle the matter before the assembling of the next General Convention, I will not impede any action that it may now wish to take. I will decline, at once, and leave it as perfectly free as it was before my election. If, on the other hand, I still reserve my answer, it must be with the express understanding that the election continue in as full force as it had on the day it was made, and that I have the time till the next General Convention in which to make my answer, unless I may deem it expedient to accept sooner. I leave the decision of this matter in the hands of this Council, and will be guided by its wishes. Meantime, I cannot but urge you to take steps looking to the future support of the Episcopacy of Arkansas. The measures proposed at our Primary Council have, so far, proved abortive. I feel that I can urge this subject upon your consideration with all the more freedom, in as much as it does not concern myself personally."

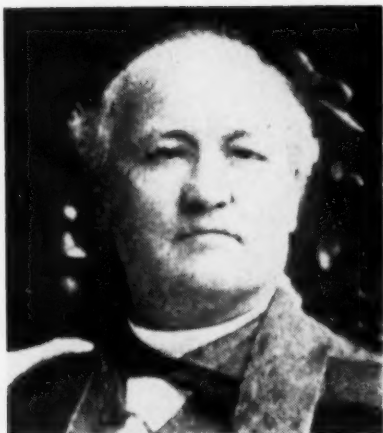
The failure of the Bishop to accept his election was due wholly to the utter inability of the Diocese to pay him even a meager salary with which to support himself, his wife and four children. (He had two sons, Wallace and Harry, who were students at Sewanee.) As Missionary Bishop of Arkansas and the Indian Territory, his salary was payable by the General Church and, being entirely without independent means, he continued his status as such Missionary Bishop. It was not until the 17th Annual Council meeting in May, 1889, that he formally announced that he then and there accepted the Episcopate of the Diocese of Arkansas. His acceptance was duly acknowledged by a rising vote of the Council.

Bishop Pierce's labors for nearly 30 years in the Diocese of Arkansas, the great hardships which he suffered and the noble work which he accomplished cannot be recounted at this time. It now only remains for me to say that he steadfastly maintained his Churchmanship, free from the encrustations of medievalism, to the very end, as is evidenced by a memorial which he himself made with his poor, tired and feeble fingers in his 79th year and in the 30th year of his Episcopate, just two days before his translation to the Church Triumphant, September 5, 1899. I read the good Bishop's Last Will and Testament:

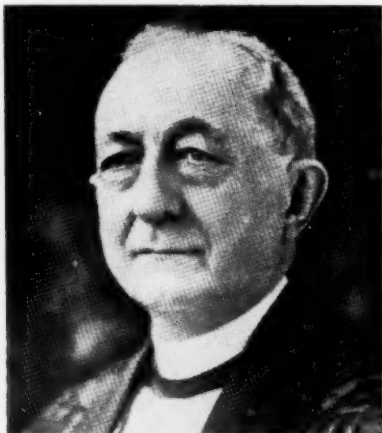
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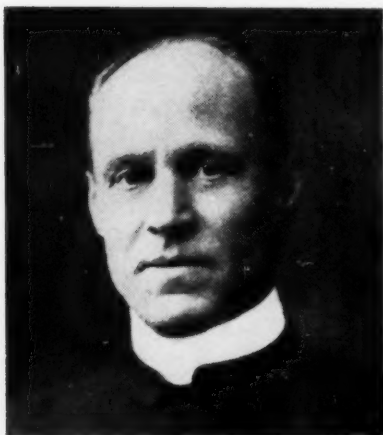
ARKANSAS BISHOPS



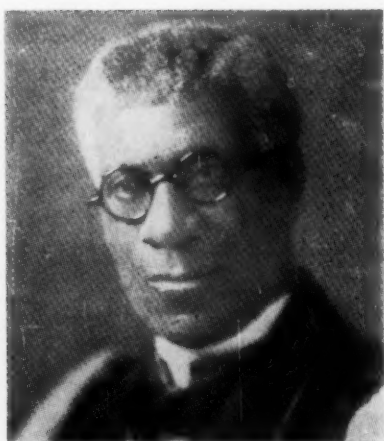
WILLIAM MONTGOMERY BROWN
(Coadjutor, 1898)
(1899-1912)



JAMES RIDOUT WINCHESTER
(Coadjutor, 1911)
(1912-1931)



EDWIN WARREN SAPHORE
(Suffragan, 1917)
(1935-1937)



EDWARD THOMAS DEMBY
(Suffragan, 1918-1939)

"If I am to die soon, as I think I am, I wish to say I avow that I die in the faith of one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, before the great schism between the east and west. I ask that Bishop Brown will continue the modest ritual which I have established in harmony with Catholic usage. In regard to my worldly affairs, I leave them at the disposition of my wife, she to be the sole executrix, without any bonds. That is my last will and testament.

(signed) HENRY NILES PIERCE."

This saintly man has been gone nearly 50 years, but if you would see his monument, just look about you in this beautiful Cathedral which he built to the honor of God and for the service of his fellowman.

And now in closing, may I be pardoned for a slight personal digression. You see, Bishop Pierce baptized me when I was an infant, and when I was but yet a small boy I remember seeing him on two or three occasions when he would make his Episcopal visitations to the little mission at Nashville, where a handful of the faithful would be gathered together, my blessed Mother among them.

Looking back through the years, I can see him tonight through the eyes of my boyhood. An old man with snow-white hair and streaming white beard, clad in the rich robes of his high office, and standing before God's Altar with his arm extended toward the congregation, and I can hear again the full, vibrant and mellow tones of his voice as he pronounced the Benediction. It seemed to me then and it seems to me now that he must have stepped from the very pages of the Old Testament—a Patriarch of olden days. That vision of my boyhood has never left me. It never will.

W. HENRY RECTOR, *Historiographer*.

WILLIAM MONTGOMERY BROWN
1898-1912

Increasing infirmity compelled Bishop Pierce to ask for a coadjutor and the Rev. William Montgomery Brown, of the Diocese of Ohio, was elected coadjutor of Arkansas and was consecrated June 24, 1898.

Born near Orville, Ohio, November 6, 1855, he studied theology at Bexley, Kenyon College, and was ordered deacon June 17, 1883, by Bishop Bedell and advanced to the priesthood on May 22, 1884, by the same bishop. He began his ministry in charge of Grace mission, Galion, Ohio, and then became general missionary of the diocese with the title of archdeacon and was acting as such when he was elected bishop. He became diocesan on the death of Bishop Pierce in 1899; resigned his jurisdiction in 1912, and was deposed for heresy in 1925.

His administration in Arkansas is summed up with great discrimination by Bishop Richard Bland Mitchell in his address to the diocesan convention of 1946, in the course of which he said:

I have given much study to Bishop William Montgomery Brown and his era. In order to understand what happened, it is necessary to describe him. I have seen Bishop Brown on occasions; but I never met him. The most charitable thing (and admittedly true) we can say about his meteoric career and ultimate Deposition from the Sacred Ministry is that his mind gave way; and manifestly that process was on in his latter days as our Diocesan. He was essentially ego-centric; and he loved to adventure into the realms of the intellect and of theology quite beyond his mental capacity; and so he careened on to a tragic end.

But Bishop Brown was a remarkable man, and in many respects ahead of his times. In 1902 he recommended the creation of a Board of Trustees to care for our various permanent funds which were then handled by individual members of the Diocese; it was 25 years before we adopted that plan. When, in 1901, General Convention adopted the then revolutionary idea of the Apportionment Plan for the support of General Missions (what we call the General Church Program today), Bishop Brown immediately put in a unified program and budget for Diocesan and General Church missionary work and divided the Apportionment receipts on a percentage and partnership basis between the Diocese and the General Board of Missions (now National Council). It was 18 years before the Church at large adopted that principle in General Convention—the system on which the Church has now operated for 25 years. He urged the wisdom of corporate surety bonds for all Church treasurers some 20 to 30 years before it was written into the Canon law of General Convention. As for publicity, he was an artist at it of the calibre to match that of the present day; he loved publicity for himself—and he certainly succeeded in getting it.

Bishop Brown was a strategist and planner. He had a "ten-year plan" 20 years before Soviet Russia was born and introduced the "plan" vogue. But all his careful planning suffered from lack of judgment both in emphasis and in selection of personnel. The baleful effects of it have reached unto this day in the Diocese. Under this plan he enlisted friends and organizations outside of Arkansas to provide \$10,000 a year for 10 years; and he, on his part, was to build 5 churches or chapels, 2 rectories, and put 2 additional clergy in the field—\$100,000, 50 churches, 20 rectories, 20 new clergy in 10 years, at the end of which time he would have the Diocese of Arkansas self-supporting. And he nearly did it, despite his suffering intensely for four of those ten years with what he called "nervous prostration." His final report claims 44 new churches, 18 rectories

and 15 new clergy recruited; and, in addition, the establishment of the Helen Dunlap School for Mountain Girls. Also the acquiring of an Episcopal Residence of 22 rooms, and a Diocesan office building adjoining. And the Convention Journal of 1911 reports, "We are now a self-supporting Diocese"—which condition lasted perhaps a year!

Here was inflation in a large way! In 1938 I found 36 church buildings in operation, 13 of which are not due to Bishop Brown's regime. Thus 21 of his 44 have disappeared (although two of them still stand—closed: Mammoth Spring and St. Mark's, Little Rock.) There were a number of rectories before he came. I found only 20 despite the 18 he built. His final report on the "plan" lists 30 places in Arkansas where the fruits of his labors and building have since disappeared, including the Helen Dunlap School.

At Bishop Pierce's death, 21 of our present congregations were in operation. At the end of Bishop Brown's "ten-year plan," he reports 52 organized congregations and 25 mission stations—a total of 77. Of the 52 congregations, 21 have disappeared, and of his 25 mission stations only 4 survived to become organized missions under Bishop Winchester—making 14 congregations in all growing out of Bishop Brown's era, a not inconsiderable contribution. We have 37 organized congregations today: 21 from Bishop Pierce and his predecessors; 14 from Bishop Brown's "plan"; one from Bishop Winchester's Episcopate (Christ Church, Forrest City, developed by Bishop Demby about 1922); and one so far in my day (St. Peter's, Conway, admitted as an organized mission in 1942).

Bishop Brown had a vision and a plan and tremendous energy. He spied out the land, tried to visualize what towns would become strategic, and sought to bring the Church in on the ground floor, so to speak. Not all that has disappeared was lost; souls were reached and ministered to the better part of a generation; there has been an increment to the Kingdom and to the life of the Church at large.

Bishop Brown's generalship failed in two vital respects. He seemed to feel that erecting a church building rather automatically established the Church in that community. And with all his inflation program, he failed to develop the financial or giving muscles of the Diocese—the habit of self-support within the Diocese. He left a greatly increased physical equipment with no corresponding increase in the financial support from within the Diocese to keep the equipment staffed and in operation.

Deflation

The inevitable happened. When the "ten-year plan" was through, Bishop Brown was through; he practically turned the Diocese over to his new Coadjutor, Bishop Winchester, and the next year (1912) resigned his jurisdiction entirely (I infer being urgently persuaded thereto by the Diocese).

JAMES RIDOUT WINCHESTER
1911-1931

In the year 1911 Dr. Winchester, rector of Calvary Church, Memphis, Tennessee, was elected coadjutor of Arkansas, and on the resignation of Bishop Brown the following year, he became diocesan. He was consecrated September 29, 1911.

Born at Annapolis, Maryland, May 15, 1852, he graduated from Washington and Lee University and from the Virginia Theological Seminary; was ordained deacon in 1877, and priested the following year by Bishop Whittle, of Virginia. Commencing his ministry as assistant in St. James' Church, Richmond, Virginia, he served as rector in the dioceses of Alabama, Virginia, Georgia, Missouri, and Tennessee.

On the retirement of Bishop Brown in 1912 he became diocesan and labored unceasingly for nearly twenty years.

He entered on his work at a critical period in the life of the diocese. The Brown "boom" had collapsed. The diocese was suffering from over-expansion, which had no solid foundation. The inevitable result was the abandonment of some organized missions; some churches were perforce closed for lack of financial support and the properties sold. The altar fires in not a few cases, died down, and Arkansas again became an "aided diocese." He entered on what was apparently a hopeless task, and what would have been so but for the fact that his faith and courage never failed.

He had all the essential qualities of a bishop. He was a scholar, and excellent preacher, and in the best sense of the word "a Christian gentleman." But first and foremost, he was a shepherd of souls, a Father in God, not only to his clergy, but also to countless numbers of the flock throughout the State. He was ever true to his consecration vows "to be gentle, merciful for Christ's sake to the poor and needy and to all strangers destitute of help."

In his address at the convention of 1946 the present diocesan paid the following just and beautiful tribute to Bishop Winchester, saying:

"It was indeed a sardonic and cruel fate which drew the saintly Bishop Winchester into this vortex of deflation and liquidation. His gentle spirit and loving heart were not geared to such a whirlwind. Yet God's purpose must have been to build something sacred and enduring into the Diocese through the spirit and toil of this godly man. His mark is all over the Diocese—invisible, intangible, of the quality of the eternal—in lives brought closer to the heavenly Father because James Ridout Winchester had passed this way. I have often thought that it was due to his consecrated discipleship and his mirroring

of the strong beauty of the Master that there was anything left of the Diocese of Arkansas. He was a spiritual giant whose strength is still at our disposal.

It was my privilege to know Bishop Winchester intimately for over 20 years before I ever dreamed of becoming his successor. The last time I saw him was in the summer of 1938 when, then your Bishop-elect, I spent some hours with him in Chicago. Physically weak and confined to his chair, his heart beat as strong as ever for Arkansas. It seemed to make him happy that I was coming to you. As we parted I knelt and asked for his blessing in the work I was to do in succession to him. He gave it; and then, bending in his chair, he demanded mine. That illustrates the humility of the man—that he, a Bishop in the Church of God and a saint by achievement, should need or desire the blessing of a very junior priest like me."

In 1917 he obtained the help of a suffragan bishop; retired in 1931; died ten years later at the age of 89; having during his many years of sainthood and service "adorned the doctrine of God in Christ in all things."

In the year 1917 Arkansas obtained its first suffragan bishop in the person of

EDWIN WARREN SAPHORE
1917-1935

who served in that capacity faithfully for 18 years.

Born at Rahway, New Jersey, September 17, 1854, he was ordered deacon on June 11, 1897, and priested June 3, 1898, by Bishop Huntington of Central New York on June 3, 1898, and was consecrated August 24, 1917. The early part of his ministry was spent in the diocese of Central New York, where he served in the following parishes: 1898, Jordan, New York; 1889-1901, St. John the Divine, Syracuse; 1901-1906, St. Paul's, Watertown, New York; 1906-1908, All Saints', Syracuse; also from 1900-1903 as professor of St. Andrew's Divinity School, Syracuse.

In 1909 he came to Arkansas, serving as archdeacon till 1917 when he was elected suffragan bishop. After the resignation of Bishop Winchester in 1931 the diocese found itself unable to elect a diocesan for four years, and remained in charge of the suffragan bishop till 1935, when Bishop Saphore was elected. He served for three years, retiring on January 1, 1938. His later years were spent at Syracuse, New York, where he died May 22, 1944, at the age of 89.

THE COLORED WORK

The Primary Convention of Arkansas in 1871 adopted a resolution declaring it to be the duty of the diocese to formulate a plan "for bringing the claims of the Church before the colored people of this State and the development of a native ministry among them."

The first step was taken by Bishop Pierce, who organized St. Philip's Mission at Little Rock, in 1887. It was admitted as a parish in 1889. The great development came under the Negro archdeacon, the Rev. G. A. McGuire, who organized in 1906:

St. Mary's, Hot Springs,
St. Augustine's, Fort Smith,
St. Andrew's, Pine Bluff.

Christ Church Mission, Forrest City, began May 1, 1921. It was the only Negro work organized after Bishop Demby became suffragan.

Bishop Winchester was deeply interested in Negro work. Personally, he favored a separate racial episcopate. Such provision came up at the General Conventions of 1913 and 1916. In the latter year the convention went on record as solving the problem by utilizing the suffragan episcopate.

Bishop Winchester, therefore, recommended to the diocesan convention the election of a suffragan bishop in Arkansas to care for the colored people and, in addition, to be available throughout the Province of the Southwest. The choice fell upon

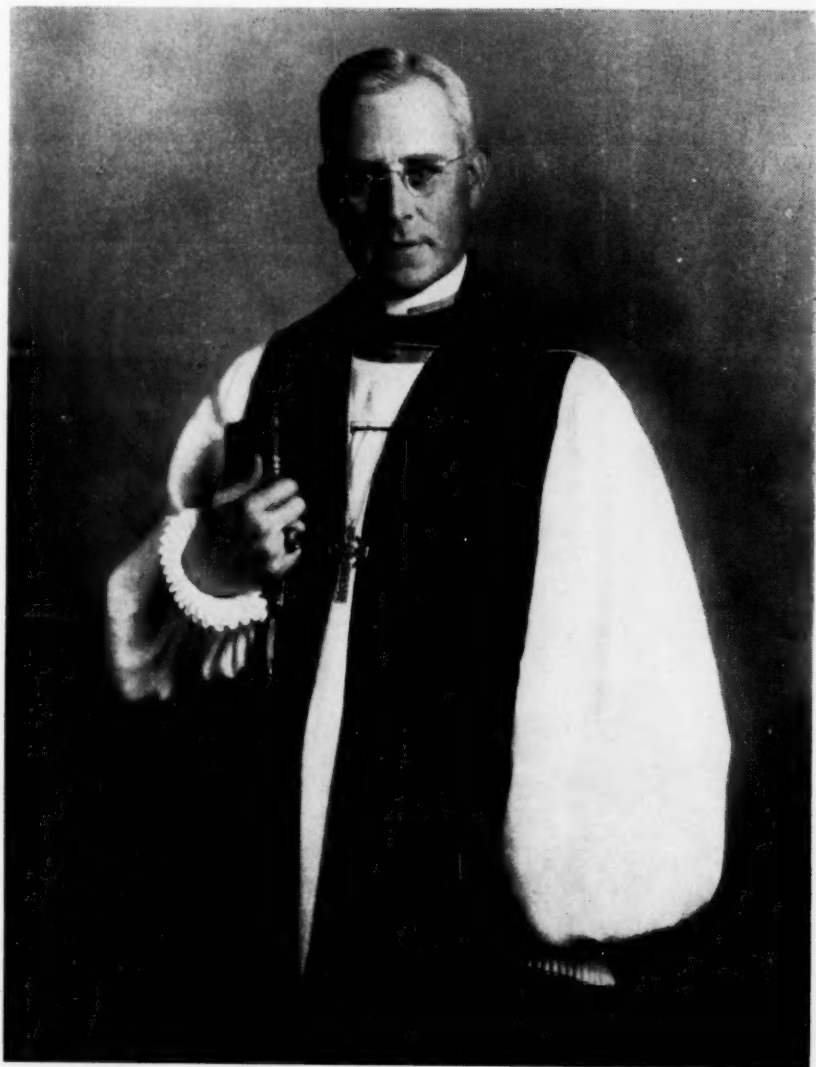
EDWARD THOMAS DEMBY
1918-1939

Born at Wilmington, Delaware, February 13, 1869, he was ordered deacon in 1898, and ordained priest the following year by Bishop Gailor. He was consecrated suffragan bishop for Arkansas and the Southwest on September 29, 1918. He resigned in 1939.

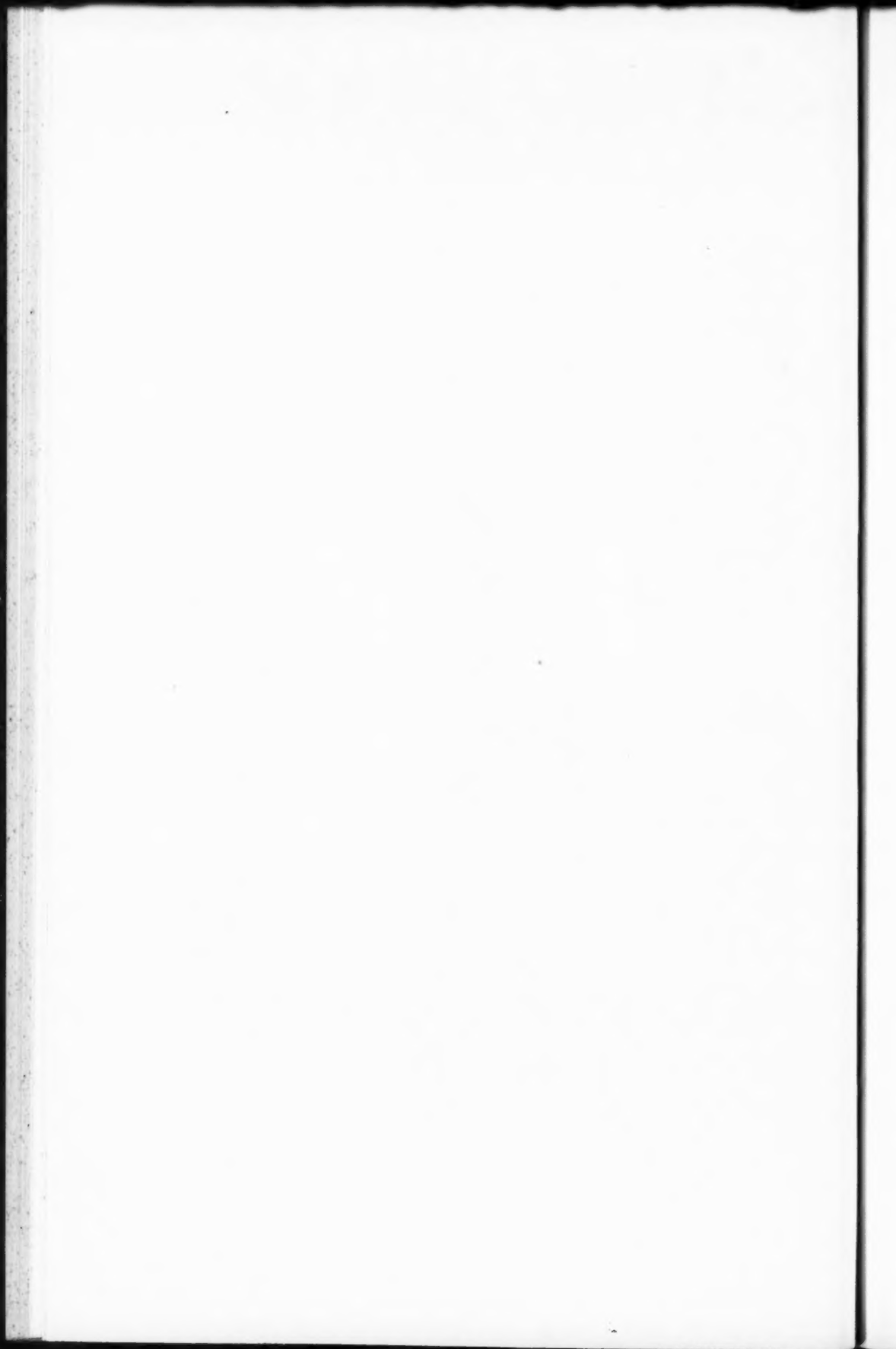
RICHARD BLAND MITCHELL
1938

rector of St. Mary's Church, Birmingham, Alabama, was elected 8th Bishop of Arkansas in 1938 and was consecrated in Trinity Cathedral, Little Rock, on October 5th of that year.

The son of Ewing Young and Amanda (Medley) Mitchell, he was born at Rolla, Missouri, July 26, 1887, and graduated from the University of the South in 1908, receiving the honorary degree of Doctor in Divinity in 1931. He was ordered deacon in 1912, and ordained priest the following year by Bishop Bratton. From 1912 to 1915 he



RICHARD BLAND MITCHELL
(1938-)



served in an associate mission in Mississippi, and for 13 years he was an officer of the Board of Missions and the National Council. He was a clerical deputy to the General Conventions of 1931, 1934 and 1937.

Bishop Mitchell inherited the task of administering what used to be called "the most tragic diocese in the American Church." Due largely to his excellent judgment, his untiring industry and his enthusiasm, the diocese has taken a new lease of life. Writing recently the editor of *The Arkansas Churchman* said:

"Bishop Mitchell has brought to the most difficult task bequeathed to him the unusual administrative ability these tasks demanded. He has never been without strategy or plan, as anyone who reads his articles in *'The Churchman'* knows. A Layman's Bishop, he commands an extraordinary following through the Diocese and receives an increasing amount of co-operation from the many to whom he has given new vision and new hope in the future of the Church."

The process of re-building has been of necessity slow. Even now there are only four more active clergy than in 1871 when the diocese was organized. But today Arkansas has seven candidates for orders. For the fourth consecutive year every congregation has met its diocesan assessment in full and on time. For the third year in succession every congregation has met or exceeded its apportionment for the program of the Church in the diocese and in the world.

The Woman's Auxiliary, first organized by Bishop Pierce, is this year celebrating its 50th anniversary, and Bishop Mitchell has just organized The Episcopal Churchman's Association with the hope of seeing a branch in every parish.

The bishop is keenly interested in the welfare of young people. Camp Mitchell has been highly successful, but greater plans are ahead. The diocese now owns a splendid tract of land on Mount Petit Jean on which to build a Diocesan Conference and Educational Center.

Other plans are in the making, including the establishment of a diocesan headquarters, and the extension and strengthening of Negro work.

Arkansas is still a missionary field—a field white unto the harvest. In two-thirds of the counties of the State there is no organized Episcopal congregation, and that includes two college towns.

The diocese has come out of great tribulation, but it has girded on its armor and is marching through the valley toward the sunrising.

APPENDIX

EARLY MISSIONARIES AND RECTORS OF CHRIST CHURCH, LITTLE ROCK

Rev. William H. C. Yeager, ordered deacon and ordained priest by Bishop Polk.

Rev. James Young, ordered deacon by Bishop Smith, of Kentucky, August 13, 1837. Removed from Little Rock to Maryland.

Rev. William Trebell Saunders, ordered deacon in February, 1841, by Bishop H. U. Onderdonk, of Pennsylvania. Served for two years, resigning to become rector of Trinity Church, Apalachicola, Florida.

Andrew Field Freeman, first rector of Christ Church, 1849. Born at Warrenton, North Carolina, December 3, 1822. Ordained deacon and priest by Bishop Alfred Lee, of Delaware. Resigned May 3, 1858. Died June, 1896.

William C. Stout, 1858. Born February 18, 1824. Ordered deacon July 15, 1847, by Bishop William Meade, of Virginia; ordained priest in 1848 by Bishop George Washington Freeman. Died at Morrilton, Arkansas, December 11, 1886.

John Thomas Wheat, D. D., 1859. Born in Washington, D. C., November 15, 1801. 1825 ordered deacon by Bishop Moore, of Virginia; priest by Bishop Kemp, of Maryland. 1835-1838 rector of St. Paul's, New Orleans, La.; 1839-1849 rector of Christ Church, Nashville, Tenn., resigning to become professor of Logic in the University of North Carolina, where he remained until 1859, when he came to Little Rock. Cut off from his parish, he became a chaplain in the Confederate Army. From July, 1867, until his retirement from the active ministry, he was rector of the Monumental Church of St. Lazarus, Memphis, Tenn. In the years 1838, 1841, 1844, 1847, 1868 and 1871 he was a clerical deputy to the General Convention. He died at Salisbury, North Carolina, February 2, 1888, aged 87.

P. G. Robert came to Little Rock as assistant to Bishop Lay, who served as rector of Christ Church in addition to his episcopal duties. Born at Richmond, Virginia, December 16, 1827, after a business career, he graduated from the Virginia Seminary. Was ordered deacon by Bishop William Meade on July 12, 1850, and advanced to the priesthood on December 18, 1851, by Bishop Johns. When the war broke out Mr.

Robert served as chaplain in the Confederate Army. He was in nine general engagements. He succeeded Bishop Lay as rector of Christ Church, Little Rock, remaining for two years. In 1869 he became first rector of the Church of the Holy Communion, St. Louis, Mo., resigning in 1898.

Henry Hobart Morrell, 1869-1870, succeeded Mr. Robert as rector of Christ Church. Born May 17, 1827, he was ordained priest by Bishop McIlvaine, March 14, 1856. Later he took charge of St. John's, Knoxville, Tenn., after which he was engaged in missionary work in Georgia, Florida and West Virginia. He died at Wheeling, West Virginia, January 2, 1889.

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BISHOP LAY

Documents Relating to the Diocese of Arkansas, 1861-1865, and Bishop Henry C. Lay Papers With Introduction and Notes by Henry T. Shanks. HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, March, 1939. Pp. 66-90.

Invaluable source material. The Lay Papers are at the University of North Carolina. They include his Journal for 1862 and 1863.

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Two articles from Lay's Journal reciting his experiences with Sherman and Grant, who permitted him to pass through their lines on his way to and from Huntsville, Alabama.

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BOOK REVIEWS

John Henry Newman: Centenary Essays. Edited by Henry Tristram.
(Burns, Oates and Washbourne, Ltd.; London, 1945.)

It was inevitable that the centenary of Newman's reception into the Roman Catholic Church by Father Dominic Barberi on October 9, 1845, should have received considerable recognition in Roman Catholic circles. And it was fitting that it should have been memorialized in the present series of essays, all of them of outstanding excellence, and all but one of them (apparently) written by men in the Roman obedience. The one exception is the essay on "The Vicar of St. Mary's," by the Rev. R. D. Middleton, vicar of St. Margaret's Church, Oxford, which covers the important fifteen year period when Newman, as vicar of the Parish of St. Mary the Virgin, made the university pulpit the medium through which the Tractarian movement affected the religious life of the entire English nation.

The secession of Newman from the Anglican Church to the Roman obedience was indeed a milestone in the history of both communions. To the Roman Catholic Church in England the accession of Newman and of the other Anglican converts who had been associated with him brought fresh vitality, and paved the way for the establishment of the Roman hierarchy in England. To the Church of England, and especially to the adherents of the Oxford movement, the secession of Newman, the most brilliant and attractive spokesman of the movement, came as a great and unsettling shock. But the movement itself went on, rallying around the leadership of the scholarly Dr. Pusey and the gifted Dean Church, outgrowing the purely academic character of its origin, extending its influence to the highways and the byways of rural England and to the slums of the great cities, and literally transforming the outer aspect and the inner life of the entire Anglican Communion within the century that has since elapsed.

Henry Tristram (there is nothing to indicate whether he or any of the other contributors is a priest or a layman) is the editor of this volume. He writes a competent introduction, which brings out clearly the importance of Newman to English-speaking Christianity and the unique personal influence which he exerted over men of the most diverse opinions and temperaments. From his pen comes also a very appealing and revealing essay entitled, "With Newman at Prayer," which incidentally brings out Newman's thoroughly English abhorrence for the excesses of Latin devotions. (Can one imagine Newman having any sympathy with the modern cult of the Sacred Heart?) Two other essays by Tristram tell of an obscure controversy in which Newman in his Anglican days was involved with a French Abbé named Jager—a controversy which bore fruit in Newman's "Lectures on the Prophetic

Office of the Church"—and deal with the output of Newman's pen under the title, "On Reading Newman."

An essay by Denis Gwynn summarizes very effectively Newman's entire career. Essays by H. F. Davis and Douglas Woodruff uphold Newman's orthodoxy as a Roman Catholic and exonerate him (perhaps with too much vehemence) from the accusation that has sometimes been made to the effect that he was the progenitor of later Roman Catholic Modernism and would have been in sympathy with liberal tendencies in the Roman Communion today.

One of the most interesting essays in the book is that by Christopher Hollis on Cardinal Newman and Dean Church. The lifelong friendship and understanding between these two men continuing after Newman's secession is a most attractive and intriguing subject, and is handled by the essayist with a rare degree of fairness and objectivity.

Essays by J. Lewis May, F. V. Reade, Werner Stark, and Geoffrey Tillotson deal adequately with various minor phases of Newman's life and work. But Mr. Middleton's essay on "The Vicar of St. Mary's" is for Anglican readers one of the most valuable in the book. This essay abounds in intimate details of Newman's great Oxford ministry that are not readily available to the average reader, at least in this country. He quotes the tributes that such diverse men as Sir Francis Doyle, Frederick Temple, James Anthony Froude, Matthew Arnold, Dean Lake, and Principal Shairp pay to the incomparable sermons that were preached Sunday after Sunday from the pulpit of St. Mary's. He describes again the unforgettable scene at Littlemore when Newman preached his farewell sermon as an Anglican on "The Parting of Friends."

This reviewer would like to conclude with his own personal tribute to the undying influence of those sermons that were preached from the pulpit of St. Mary's, Oxford, more than a hundred years ago. The eight-volume set of the *Parochial and Plain Sermons* which is my treasured possession is an inheritance from the library of my maternal grandfather. My grandfather was a birthright Quaker who became a Methodist during his college days, and lived and died a devoted and consistent member of that connexion. He was a man of grave and austere piety. I have reason to believe that his soul was fed upon the "deep and affecting truths" conveyed through these sermons as, many years after his death, his grandson's soul has been. Compared with the simple directness of these sermons, their felicity of expression, and the profundity of the truth which they contain about God and man, even the *Apologia Pro Vita Sua* rings as a bit of special pleading.

E. H. ECKEL.

Trinity Parish,
Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Retrospect of An Unimportant Life. By Hensley Henson. (Oxford University Press, 1943) two volumes in one.

The title of this autobiography of the retired bishop of Durham is a flagrant example of English understatement. Nay, there is something Uriah Heepish about such a title, for it is thoroughly belied by the 750

pages of virile, racy, often polemical reminiscence and comment that delight, stimulate, and often irritate the reader.

The present reviewer has followed from a distance the career of Dr. Henson for the last thirty-five years, and (it must be confessed) was prone many years ago to think of him as the *enfant terrible* of the English Church, and later as an ecclesiastical gadfly. But he confesses that he puts down Dr. Henson's autobiography with a greatly enhanced respect for its author, and with the feeling that Dr. Henson has made an invaluable contribution to the evaluation of men and movements in the Church of England during the first four decades of this century.

This is indeed a baffling volume to review in the space allowed. Henson's career as a fellow at All Souls' College, Oxford, coincided with the years when Charles Gore and his associates of the *Lux Mundi* school were in their ascendancy, and it was inevitable that he should have been influenced by them, though he reacted early from their influence. At the turn of the century, both Gore and Henson held canonries of Westminster Abbey—and then the divergences between the two men, divergences which brought them into frequent collision and conflict in later years, began to be apparent. Henson (who likened Gore to St. Charles Borromeo) was thoroughly antipathetic to Gore's liberal catholicism, socialism and attempt to reconcile traditional orthodoxy with Biblical criticism. Gore, on the other hand, was equally antipathetic to Henson's desire to make the Church Establishment inclusive of all the Protestant elements in English religious life, his fraternal recognition of Presbyterians and other non-episcopalians, and his contempt for the doctrine of apostolic succession. Worse yet, to Gore Henson was suspect of sitting very loosely to fundamental Christian belief. It was Thomas Arnold and the early Tractarians all over again, with twentieth century variations. The Kikuyu controversy, which arose in 1913 when Bishop Weston of Zanzibar vehemently dissociated himself from the bishops of Uganda and Mombasa (who had communicated with non-episcopalians during an interdenominational missionary conference in East Africa), and the controversy that arose from the publication of *Foundations* in 1912, provoked a considerable pamphlet warfare, to which Henson (at that time dean of Durham) trenchantly contributed his say on the Protestant and liberal side. These controversies revealed irreconcilable differences within the Anglican Establishment and only quieted down when the first World War absorbed everyone's attention.

But when in 1917 Dr. Henson was offered the bishopric of Hereford by Mr. Lloyd-George, a storm of protest arose from the Anglo-Catholics and conservative Evangelicals. "The Hereford Scandal" produced all the familiar manifestations of *odium theologicum* that had come to the surface a generation before, when Frederick Temple was appointed to the episcopate. American churchmen have witnessed the same unlovely phenomena in the circumstances that resulted in the rejections of Seymour and DeKoven after their successive elections as bishop of Illinois. A closer parallel, of course, was the furore that arose when Phillips Brooks was elected bishop of Massachusetts. In Henson's case, as in Brooks', the opposition was unsuccessful, though the victim himself was metaphorically hung, drawn, and quartered. In Hen-

son's case, as in Brooks', the after-event did not justify the dire misgivings that were aroused.

Henson's brief, though not undistinguished, episcopate at Hereford was marked by his strong, but unsuccessful, opposition to the passage of the Enabling Act, which he felt threatened the national character of the Church and played into the hands of the Anglo-Catholic party. In 1920 he was translated to the diocese of Durham, the fourth ranking see of the English hierarchy. The second volume of the autobiography, drawing copiously upon the private journal which the bishop kept for many years, is given over to the Durham episcopate from 1920 to Dr. Henson's retirement in 1938. Here we have inside views of the author's participation in the Lambeth Conferences of 1920 and 1930, his strong advocacy of the Revised Prayer Book both in the Church Assembly and in the House of Lords, his *volte face* regarding the Establishment and his advocacy of disestablishment in the interest of the spiritual autonomy of the Church, following upon the rejection of the Revised Prayer Book by the House of Commons, and his attitude toward the problems of economic dislocation that were so acute during these years among the miners of his diocese. Here we see the bishop of Durham forwarding inter-communion with the Church of Sweden by participating with Archbishop Soederblom in the consecration of a Swedish bishop, fulminating against the approaches to Rome through the Malines conversations, and protesting vigorously the invitation given the distinguished Unitarian, Dr. L. P. Jacks, to speak from the pulpit of Liverpool Cathedral—a protest which cleared up once for all any suspicion of Henson's own unsoundness on the doctrine of the Incarnation. Here we see his reactions to the death of George V and to the abdication of Edward VIII. Here we share his prejudices against Buchmanism and against American ecclesiastics (though he was very favorably impressed by Bishop Hobson of Southern Ohio). Here we enjoy his candid and oft-times piquant estimates of men prominent in Church and State. And here, too, we glimpse a strong and capable bishop administering his diocese and serving faithfully and well as *pastor parvorum* and as Father in God to all the people within his jurisdiction. Hensley Henson may not rank in sanctity with Cosin and Moule. His scholarship may not compare with that of Butler, Lightfoot and Westcott. But we doubt not that posterity will accord him a place second to none of his predecessors as a strong and worthy Bishop of Durham.

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THE CHURCH IN U. S. A.

[From *The Guardian*]

1930-1940. *An Encouraging Decade for the Episcopal Church.* By W. H. Stowe, S. T. D. Foreword by the Bishop of Michigan. Philadelphia. Church Historical Society, 4205 Spruce Street.

This valuable booklet is a reprint of an article in the *Historical Magazine of the American Church*. It is good to read in the Foreword

that "the Episcopal Church has an appeal for everyone," and that it does "by its genius and character commend itself." "Dr. Stowe," the bishop writes, "glories in the comprehensive character of our Church, not in its appeal to people of one race and tradition. But, being a statistician, he faces facts and reveals them in a study which is both informative and challenging."

English Church people will probably be surprised to learn that the Episcopal Church in America has always grown faster than the population. We wish we could say the same of our Church in England. The last ten years in America has been a period of especial encouragement. "The population of the United States, dependent for the first time in its history upon the native birth rate alone, increased by 7.24 per cent, the lowest rate of increase in the records. The Church's communicants increased 14.0 per cent, almost twice that of the population increase." There is a net gain of 5.7 ratio points in ten years, with almost no immigration, compared with a net gain of less than 5 points in the preceding 30 years during the period of heavy immigration. "It is this favourable condition, which will improve even more with the passing of time, which warrants our calling the last decennial period 'An encouraging decade.'"

Dr. Stowe's pamphlet is indispensable for the study of the Episcopal Church in America.

R. D. MIDDLETON.

*St. Margaret's Vicarage,
Oxford, England.*

A CHART OF CHURCH HISTORY

[From *The Guardian*]

Epitome of the History of the Holy Catholic Church. By W. H. Stowe, S. T. D. Publication No. 17 of the Church Historical Society, Philadelphia.

This chart should be extremely useful to those engaged in the teaching of Church history. The most notable events within and without the Church in its long and wonderful history are given, together with dates, almost down to the present time. Another edition might with advantage show the present connexion of the Orthodox Church with our own, and also that of the Old Catholic Church. It would be better to speak of the separation of East and West rather than to use the word "schism." Members of our Church who teach the Roman Catholic doctrine of the Immaculate Conception will not care for the chart. Doubtless copies for the use of students could be obtained from The Church Historical Society, 4205 Spruce Street, Philadelphia 4, U. S. A. Dr. Stowe has done a good piece of work.

R. D. MIDDLETON.

*St. Margaret's Vicarage,
Oxford, England.*

The Epistles of St. Clement of Rome and St. Ignatius of Antioch. Newly Translated and Annotated By James A. Kleist, S. J. Westminster, Maryland, The Newman Bookshop. ix, 162 pages. \$2.50.

This is the first volume of a new series, *Ancient Christian Writers*; works of the Fathers in English translation, issued by the Catholic University of America, under the general editorship of Dr. Johannes Quasten and Dr. Joseph C. Plumpe. And this initial volume augurs well for the excellence of the series. For the most part Father Van Kleist, an expert in Hellenistic Greek, is an ideal translator who turns the original into clear, vigorous English; only occasionally using a somewhat too "heavy" style as in "extirpate the lawless passion of your jealousy" (Clement 63:2). And the very full notes are for the most part models of objective interpretation; far and away the best that we have in English. Naturally, Father Van Kleist does not write without theological presuppositions which carry him into an occasional carelessness, as when he says that "Clement . . . is astonishingly familiar with the whole New Testament" (page 104) or conjectures that Saint Paul visited Tralles and Philadelphia (page 55). Or when he identifies the Judaizers of Ignatius with the Apostle's Jewish adversaries (page 57); Saint Paul had no quarrel with Jewish Christians who lived according to the Law if they did not try to impose legalism on the Gentiles. Father Van Kleist, moreover, is convinced that Clement knows three orders, bishops, presbyters and deacons, in the Christian ministry (page 112), although on the same page he writes that to Clement "*episkopos* and *presbuteros* are still synonymous."

BURTON SCOTT EASTON.

*General Theological Seminary,
New York City.*

He Lives. By Austin Pardue, Bishop of Pittsburgh, New York: Morehouse-Gorham Co. 1946. Pp. 105.

This little book is designed to comfort and reassure those who have lost their loved ones. It serves its purpose admirably. The brief chapters cover, among other subjects, Paradise, Purgatory, Hell, Heaven, the Communion of Saints, the ministry of angels, Communication with the Departed, with a warning against resort to professional mediums. Not the least helpful parts of the book are those reciting the writer's experience in ministering to the dying and the bereaved. It should be in the hands of every parish minister.

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

The Faith of the Episcopal Church. By Frank Damrosch. New York: Morehouse-Gorham Co. 1946. Pp. 146.

An excellent manual for those who are interested in Religion but know little about it. It points to the Church which provides a way of faith, of prayer, of sacraments which combined offer a way of life. The chapter on the structure of the Episcopal Church is particularly good.

E. C. C.

They Found the Church There. By Henry P. Van Dusen. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Pp. 145.

A sequel to the author's *What Is the Church Doing?* It is a collection of the experiences of servicemen in the Pacific islands who quite unexpectedly discovered for themselves Christian natives and gained a new conception of missionary work. The key to the book is found in a letter a serviceman wrote his mother: "Dear Mom: Because of missions I was feasted and not feasted upon when I fell from the sky into this village." Just the kind of book to put into the hands of people who do not believe in foreign missions.

E. C. C.

Tips to Teachers. By Vernon McMaster. New York: Morehouse-Gorham Co. 1946. Pp. 99.

Out of a wealth of experience Mr. McMaster has written a practical and fascinating book which should be in the hands of all who are interested in Sunday Schools. It takes the unusual form of a series of conferences held by a parish priest with a small group whom he had selected as possible teachers in his Sunday School. Meeting once a week they freely discussed the purpose and art of teaching. In the beginning they were rather shocked at the idea of becoming Sunday School teachers. They ended by becoming enthusiastic. It would be a good thing if our rectors read it in teachers' meetings for the nine weeks covered by the chapters, and, better still, getting the teachers to discuss it.

E. C. C.

The Anatomy of the Saints. By Richardson Wright. New York: Morehouse-Gorham. 1946. Pp. 116.

A series of Addresses delivered by a layman at a leadership training week-end conference in the Diocese of Western Massachusetts. It is marked by profound spiritual insight; searching and stimulating and clothed in beautiful language.

E. C. C.

Ministers of Christ. By Walter Lowrie. Louisville: Cloister Press. 1946. ix, 113 pages.

Apostolic Succession at the Bar of Modern Scholarship. By Felix Cirlot. Holy Cross Press. 1946. 77 pages.

These two little books, published almost simultaneously, complement each other in thesis, method and style. Dr. Lowrie's thesis is "that it cannot be claimed of any system of Church government in vogue

today . . . that it is '*jure divino*.'" Dr. Cirlot's thesis is that precisely this can be claimed of the episcopal system. Dr. Lowrie's method is only partly historical and he lays his chief emphasis on things as they are; we cannot deny that the clergy of the non-episcopal churches are true "ministers of Christ" in the fullest sense of the words; that they are truly a sacerdotal priesthood, even though they reject such a title. Dr. Cirlot's method is purely historical; so Scripture and the earliest tradition have taught and so we must believe. In style Dr. Lowrie writes with a mellow gentleness based on sympathies as broad as his experience and his reading. Dr. Cirlot writes in the style of a barrister speaking to his brief, whose duty is to interpret the admitted facts so as to support his case directly or to explain them as at least innocuous to that case.

In comparing the two arguments there can be no doubt that the facts of history are stated much more fully and generally more accurately by Dr. Cirlot. Dr. Lowrie's use of Hippolytus is—to speak frankly—bewildering. On page 58 he tells us that the evidence of Hippolytus shows that the consecration of a bishop by the local presbyters can no longer be thought to be a custom limited to Alexander. But as a matter of fact Hippolytus says the exact opposite; that only bishops share in the consecration "and the presbytery stand by in silence." And he adds that at the ordination of a presbyter, where presbyters join with the bishop in the laying on of hands, only the bishop "ordains" and the presbyters merely "seal"; "the presbyter has no authority to give holy orders" (Dix's translation, which Dr. Lowrie apparently does not know). And, incidentally, Hippolytus, past doubt, regarded himself as not only "a bishop in Rome," but as the sole legitimate bishop of Rome; he described his opponents as not a church of Christians, but "a school of Callistians."

A perhaps more serious error appears in Dr. Lowrie's reconstruction of New Testament polity; his neglect of the continuity between the first Christian presbyters and the Jewish elders. The presbyters were not originally the older men of the community, who, by virtue of their age, took the leadership in pastoral and liturgical duties. In Acts and the Pastoral Epistles they are ordained officials, with exactly the same functions as their Jewish counterparts; the ordination prayers for presbyters in Hippolytus, Sarapion and the Constitutions agree in tracing the origin of the office back not to Christ but to Moses. And at first *episkopoi* and *presbuteroi* do not describe different offices or duties, but are precise synonyms (e. g., Acts 20:17, 28), the former word being clearer to Greek ears than the latter, which outside of Palestine (and Egypt) mean simply "old men."

Dr. Cirlot, on his part, notes the resemblance between Jewish elders and Christian presbyters, but then lets the matter drop. The continuity bears, however, more than he realizes on the problem of valid ordination by presbyters. The later evidence, which he summarizes fairly enough, he treats, (as did Gore) by saying that if the practice ever existed it proves only that these presbyters were ordained with the explicit intention of giving them power to ordain, making them virtually non-monarchical bishops; since those days this intention ceased and subsequent presbyters, therefore, had—and have—no ordaining power. But

he does not do proper justice to I Timothy 4:14, where the true ordaining power of presbyters is unequivocally asserted as a matter of course. And the continuity of the office from Judaism would make this a matter of course, for a Jewish layman was ordained an elder "by the laying on of the hands of the presbytery," just as today in orthodox Judaism a layman is ordained a rabbi by the laying on the hands of a "presbytery" formed by rabbis. And it is an uncritical use of the Pastoral Epistles to insist that 1 Timothy 4:14 must have been written with 2 Timothy 1:6 (or its substance) in mind; still more uncritical to read back the theory of Hippolytus into the former passage and to make it say that the presbyters only "seal" what some unmentioned higher official effects. As Dr. Lowrie very justly observes (page 53) "if [the presbyters] accomplished nothing by the laying on of their hands, they might as well have kept their hands in their pockets and left the whole transaction to the Apostle." In other words, the New Testament asserts that presbyters have by the fact of their office power to ordain.

A further analysis of Dr. Cirlot's treatise may be dispensed with at present for two reasons. One reason is the fact that his argument as it now stands follows Gore's so closely that it is familiar to all students of the subject. The other reason is that he states in his preface that it is a merely preliminary sketch of a much more elaborate book he has in preparation; until his full case is before us, criticism may be premature.

BURTON SCOTT EASTON.

*The General Theological Seminary,
New York City.*

Towards Christian Democracy. By Sir Stafford Cripps. New York: Philosophical Library. 1946. Pp. 101.

Here is a simple exposition of obvious truths. Now and then it is worth while to refresh ourselves with a clear outline of obvious, but neglected, truths. And when a brilliant layman, Great Britain's President of the Board of Trade, presents them with a sense of urgency, we would do well to listen.

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He reminds us of the failure of the Church after World War I. The hopes of the World Alliance faded when the Roman Catholics refused to participate. The majority of the clergy in general were apathetic; they were too immersed in local parish problems to lift their eyes to world moral and spiritual leadership. This condition still continues. And now the Church faces the added challenge to bring moral and spiritual progress into line with our terrible material progress in the weapons of destruction.

The Church must enter political and economic life in the sense that it insists upon the application of Christian principles in these spheres. Ownership of private property, which gives one individual power over another, must be abolished, and the property placed in the hands of a democratically controlled state. The author believes it must come; that it will bring the kingdom closer.

We may not agree with this particular program, but we must believe that religion must not be merely a Sunday pastime, but a daily experience.

The author pays fine tribute to the amazing cooperation and self-sacrifice during the period of the war and pleads for the exercise of the same qualities to bring about the much needed social changes. The Church must inspire people to reach the same heights of sacrifice. Sir Stafford Cripps is a Christian, but perhaps he does not realize how completely pagan our so-called Christian countries are. Yet he urges the Church to experience "the violent infection of Christianity that struck some of our forbears." Perhaps he is too sure that the kingdom will be here on earth when poverty and ignorance are eliminated. A well-fed, well-clothed, well-housed people may not thereby be a more Christian people. But has not the Church too frequently erred in the opposite direction, a blind refusal to see that a Christian democracy, religion in everyday life, is a most vital demand?

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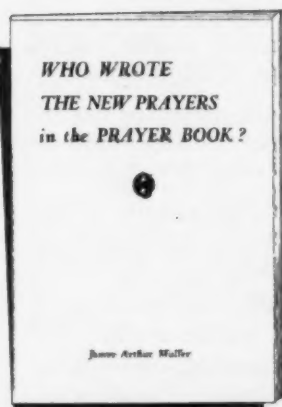
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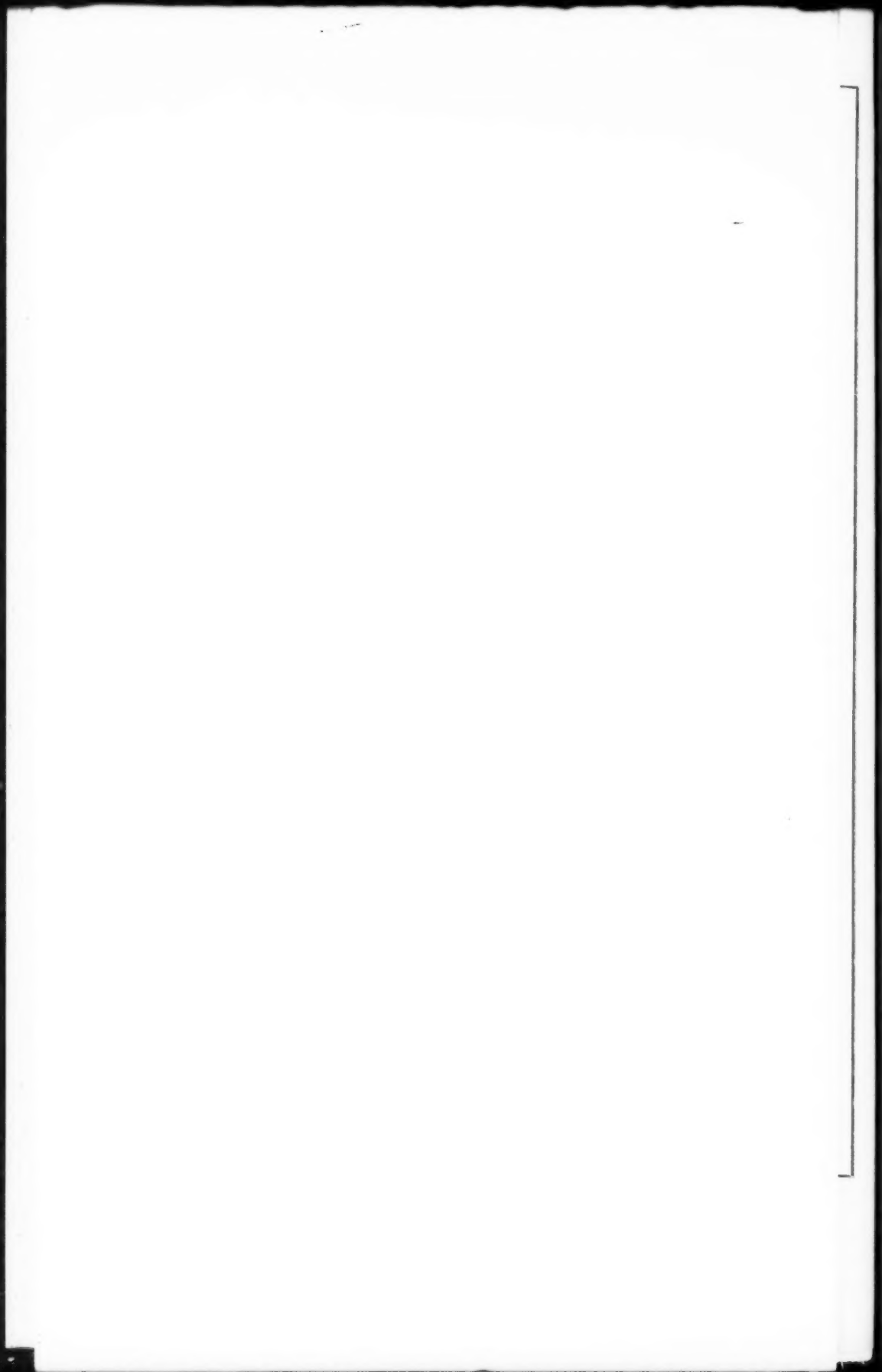
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